

English Literature for Secondary Schools

. (HISTORICAL SECTION)

General Editor :—J. H. FOWLER, M.A.

SELECTIONS FROM
A SURVEY OF LONDON



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Selections from A Survey of London

Containing the Original, Antiquity, Increase,
Modern Estate, and Description of that
City, written in the year 1598

By
John Stow
Citizen of London

Edited for Schools by

A. Barter

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INTRODUCTION.

JOHN STOW.

JOHN STOW is one of the many illustrious English writers who have been born and bred in London. His father was a tailor, and an anecdote which Stow relates in his "Survey," enables us to fix, with tolerable accuracy, the position of the house in which the writer's childhood was spent. He is speaking of a "very large and spacious house" in Throgmorton Street, built by Thomas Cromwell: "This house being finished," he says, "and having some reasonable plot of ground left for a garden, he caused the pales of the gardens adjoining to the north part thereof on a sudden to be taken down; twenty-two feet to be measured right into the north of every man's ground; a line there to be drawn, a trench to be cast, a foundation laid, and a high brick wall to be built. My father had a garden there, and a house" [probably a summer house], "standing close to his south pale; this house they loosed from the ground, and bare upon rollers into my father's garden twenty-two feet ere my father heard thereof. No warning was given him, nor other answer when he spake to the surveyors of that work, but their master, Sir Thomas, commanded them so to do; no man durst go to argue the matter, but each man lost his land, and my father paid his whole rent, which was 6s. 6d. the year for that half which was left." Stow, then, probably lived at this time upon or near the site of our present Stock Exchange. The incident occurred in 1531 or 1532, when Stow, who was born in 1525, was six or seven years old.

Other glimpses of his youthful days, Stow gives us incidentally in his "Survey." Describing the nunnery at St. Clare, west of Tower Hill, he says "Near adjoining to this abbey, on the south-side thereof, was sometime a farm belonging to the said nunnery, at the which farm I myself in my youth have fetched away many a halfpenny worth of milk, and never had less than three ale pints for a halfpenny in the summer, nor less than one ale quart for a halfpenny in the winter, always hot from the kine, as the same was milked and strained."

Stow is very careful, when he is speaking of a state of things which has passed away, to indicate the source of his information, and to distinguish between what he has gained from books or from tradition and what forms part of his own memories. "I read," he says or, "as some have written," "Thus much out of this book have I noted," "as is commonly spoken," and all his descriptions are clear and vivid. Yet it is to the personal reminiscences which occur here and there that the book owes much of its quaint and picturesque charm. For example, when he has gravely told us of the tempest, which ("as I have oft heard my father report") upon a certain St. James' night shook the steeple of the Church of St. Michael the Archangel; of the "ugly shapen sight" which appeared to the men who were ringing the bells, and of the stones of the north window found afterwards to be "razed and scratched as if they had been so much butter"; he adds, "I have seen them oft, and have put a feather or small stick into the holes where the claws had entered three or four inches deep." Another word-picture which may be quoted, is the description of the giving of alms to the poor of Houndsditch. "In my youth, I remember devout people, as well men as women of this city, were accustomed oftentimes, especially on Fridays, weekly to walk that way purposely there to bestow their charitable alms; every poor man or woman lying in their bed within their window, which was towards the street, open so low that every man might see them, a clean linen cloth lying in

their window, and a pair of beads, to show that there lay a bed-ridden body, unable but to pray only."

These memories belong to Stow's childhood, and to the time during which he was serving his apprenticeship to his father's trade. A later picture shows him as a master tailor and a householder. In the third year of King Edward VI., he tells us the bailiff of Romford, "a man very well beloved," was "brought by the sheriffs of London and the knight-marshal to the well within Aldgate, there to be executed upon a gibbet set up that morning . . . I heard the words of the prisoner, for he was executed upon the pavement of my door where I then kept house "

In this house, we may imagine, he lived quietly and frugally for many years, his tall spare figure and cheerful face well known to the neighbours, "very sober, mild and courteous" in his dealings with all. He worked diligently at his trade, and devoted his leisure to the study of the history of his country. In 1561 he published "A Summarie of English Chronicles," which met with considerable favour, and this gave Stow courage to renounce his trade, and devote himself entirely to the studies he loved. Eleven editions of the "Summarie" were printed during the author's lifetime, that is, in the space of forty-four years. In the 1573 edition he says, "It is now eight years since I, seeing the confused order of our late English Chronicles, and the ignorant handling of ancient affairs, leaving my own peculiar gains, consecrated myself to the search of our famous antiquities." For the remainder of his life, Stow quietly persevered in the work he had set himself to do, living, we may suppose, on the savings accumulated from his previous work as a tailor. In 1580 appeared his "Chronicle of England," which, enlarged and revised, was issued as "Annales of England" in 1592. He was not, however, allowed to remain unmolested. In those days of religious intolerance, it was difficult for a man whose habits were different from those of his neighbours to escape unpleasant notice. The reputation of learning in itself, laid

him open to suspicion. Stow suffered a species of persecution which, although we are told he was "very careless of scoffers, backbiters, and detractors," must have seriously interfered with his work. His books were examined, and he himself reported upon as a person whose attachment to the Protestant religion was doubtful. A worse misfortune than this was, however, gradually coming upon him. His store of money was dwindling away. The books required for his research were expensive, and he does not appear to have received much return in money for all his work. Stow sank into poverty, and found himself, as we suppose, obliged to apply for aid to the State. Instead of the honourable pension to which his labours entitled him, he received from James I. a mendicant's license (dated March, 1604), that is, a document authorising him "to collect amongst our loving subjects their voluntary contributions and kind gratuities . . . we having already in our own person, and of our special grace begun the largesse for the example of others." Stow did not long, however, enjoy this humiliating bounty. He died in April, 1605, and was buried in the church of St. Andrews, Undershaft,—the "fair and beautiful parish church," of which he discourses so lovingly in his "Survey."

STOW'S PLACE AMONG THE ENGLISH CHRONICLERS.

The earliest records of English history were the Latin Chronicles compiled in the monasteries. It was not until the sixteenth century, when the Renaissance movement had awakened a lively interest in past times, that the work was taken up with zeal and enthusiasm by independent writers. Among the first of these was Robert Fabyan, who in 1516, produced his "New Chronicles of England and France," which began with Brut and ended at the accession of Elizabeth. Hall's "Union of the Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and York" appeared in 1542. It is a more attractive, as well as a more reliable history than Fabyan's, and was largely used by later historians as well as by Shake-

spare. Grafton, Leland, and Cavendish carried on the work, and left valuable records. In the reign of Elizabeth came those "honest tailors" John Stow and John Speed, who "stitched away at English history for the benefit of future generations" Speed's "History of Great Britain under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans" was not published until 1611, more than fifty years after the "Summarie" of Stow. In 1578 Holinshed, perhaps the best known of the chroniclers, published his "Chronicles of England," to which the Elizabethan dramatists, including Shakespeare, had so much reason to be grateful.

After the reign of Elizabeth, the chronicle quickly developed into the regular history. Raleigh's "History of the World" (1614), with its curious plan and long digressions, can scarcely be placed in either class. Camden's "Britannia," "Remains," and "Annales," are antiquarian works of great value. Biographies, diaries, parliamentary records, and travels, bring us to Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," 1645, which may be regarded as the first regular work on English history.

Stow's fame rests chiefly on his "Survey of London" 1598, which has never been superseded, all subsequent accounts being to some extent based upon it. He also published an edition of the works of Chaucer, as he tells us, "corrected and twice increased, through mine own painful labours, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to wit, in the year 1561; and again beautified with notes by me, collected out of divers records and monuments, which I delivered to my loving friend, Thomas Speght, and he having drawn the same into a good form and method, as also explained the old and obscure words, etc., hath published them in anno 1597."

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A SURVEY OF LONDON

CONTAINING THE ORIGINAL, ANTIQUITY,
INCREASE, MODERN ESTATE, AND DESCRIPTION
OF THAT CITY.

AS the Roman writers, to glorify the city of Rome, derive the original thereof from gods and demi-gods, by the Trojan progeny, so Geoffrey of Monmouth, the Welsh historian, deduceth the foundation of this famous city of London, for the greater glory thereof, and emulation of Rome, from the very same original. For he reporteth that Brute, lineally descended from the demi-god Æneas, the son of Venus, daughter of Jupiter, about the year of the world 2855, and 1108 before the nativity of 10 Christ, built this city near unto the river now called Thames, and named it Troynovant, or Trenovant. But herein, as Livy, the most famous historiographer of the Romans, writeth, antiquity is pardonable, and hath an especial privilege, by interlacing divine matters with human, to make the first foundation of cities more honourable, more sacred, and, as it were, of greater majesty.

King Lud, as the aforesaid Geoffrey of Monmouth noteth, afterwards not only repaired this 20

city, but also increased the same with fair buildings, towers, and walls, and after his own name called it Caire-Lud, as Lud's town ; and the strong gate which he built in the west part of the city he likewise, for his own honour, named Ludgate.

This Lud had issue two sons, Androgeus and Theomantius, who being not of age to govern at the death of their father, their uncle Cassibelan took upon him the crown ; about the eighth year
10 of whose reign, Julius Cæsar arrived in this land with a great power of Romans to conquer it ; the manner of which conquest I will summarily set down out of his own Commentaries, which are of far better credit than the relations of Geoffrey Monmouth.

The chief government of the Britons, and ordering of the wars, was then by common advice committed to Cassibelan, whose seigniory was separated from the cities towards the sea-coast by
20 the river called Thames, about fourscore miles from the sea. This Cassibelan, in times past, had made continual war upon the cities adjoining ; but the Britons being moved with the Roman invasion, had resolved in that necessity to make him their sovereign, and general of the wars, which continued hot between the Romans and them. But in the meanwhile the Troynovants, which was then the strongest city well near of all those countries, and out of which city a young gentleman, called Man-
30 dubrace, upon confidence of Cæsar's help, came unto him into the mainland of Gallia, now called France, and thereby escaped death, which he should

have suffered at Cassibelan's hand, sent their ambassadors to Cæsar, promising to yield unto him, and to do what he should command them, instantly desiring him to protect Mandubrace from the furious tyranny of Cassibelan, and to send him into their city with authority to take the government thereof upon him. Cæsar accepted the offer, and appointed them to give unto him forty hostages, and withal to find him grain for his army; and so sent he Mandubrace unto 10 them.

When others saw that Cæsar had not only defended the Trinobants against Cassibelan, but had also saved them harmless from the pillage of his own soldiers, then did the Conimagues, Segontians, Ancalits, Bibrokes, and Cassians, likewise submit themselves unto him; and by them he learned that not far from thence was Cassibelan's town, fortified with woods and marsh ground, into the which he had gathered a great number both of men and 20 cattle.

For the Britons call that a town, saith Cæsar, when they have fortified a cumbersome wood with a ditch and rampart, and thither they resort to abide the approach of their enemies. To this place therefore marched Cæsar with his legions.

He found it excellently fortified, both of nature and by man's advice. Nevertheless, he resolved to assault it in two several places at once, whereupon the Britons, being not able to endure the force of 30 the Romans, fled out at another part, and left the town unto him. A great number of cattle he

found there, and many of the Britons he slew, and others he took in the chase.

Whilst these things were doing in these quarters, Cassibelan sent messengers into Kent, which lieth upon the sea, in which there reigned then four particular kings, named Cingetorex, Caruill Taximagull, and Segonax, whom he commanded to raise all their forces, and suddenly to set upon and assault the Romans in their trenches by the sea-
10 side ; the which, when the Romans perceived they sallied out upon them, slew a great sort of them, and taking Cingetorex their noble captain prisoner, retired themselves to their camp in good safety.

When Cassibelan heard of this, and had formerly taken many other losses, and found his country sore wasted, and himself left almost alone by the defection of the other cities, he sent ambassadors by Comius of Arras to Cæsar, to entreat with him concerning his own submission ; the which Cæsar
20 did accept, and taking hostages, assessed the realm of Britain to a yearly tribute, to be paid to the people of Rome, giving strait charge to Cassibelan that he should not seek any revenge upon Mandubrace or the Trinobantes, and so withdrew his army to the sea again.

Thus far out of Cæsar's Commentaries concerning this history, which happened in the year before Christ's Nativity, 54. In all which process there is for this purpose to be noted, that Cæsar nameth
30 the city of Trinobantes, which hath a resemblance with Troynova, or Trinobantum, having no greater difference in the orthography than changing *b* into

v, and yet maketh an error whereof I will not argue. Only this I will note, that divers learned men do not think "*civitas Trinobantum*" to be well and truly translated, "the city of the Trinobantes;" but it should rather be the state, commonalty, or seigniory of the Trinobantes; for that Cæsar in his Commentaries useth the word *civitas*, only for a people living under one and the self-same prince and law; but certain it is that the cities of the Britons were in those days neither 10 artificially built with houses, nor strongly walled with stone, but were only thick and cumbersome woods, plashed within and trenched about. And the like in effect do other the Roman and Greek authors directly affirm, as Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Dion, a senator of Rome, which flourished in the several reigns of the Roman emperors, Tiberius, Claudius, Domitian, and Severus; to wit, that before the arrival of the Romans the Britons had no towns, but called that a town which had a thick 20 entangled wood, defended, as I said, with a ditch and bank; the like whereof, the Irishmen, our next neighbours, do at this day call Fastness. But after that these hither parts of Britain were reduced into the form of a province by the Romans, who sowed the seeds of civility over all Europe; this city, whatever it was before, began to be renowned, and of fame. For Tacitus, who first of all authors nameth it Londinum, saith, that in the 62nd year after Christ, it was, albeit no colony of the Romans, 30 yet most famous for the great multitude of merchants, provision, and intercourse. At which time,

in that notable revolt of the Britons from Nero, in which 70,000 Romans and their confederates were slain, this city, with Verulam, near St. Albans, and Maldon, in Essex, then all famous, were ransacked and spoiled. For Suetonius Paulinus, then lieutenant for the Romans in this isle, abandoned it, as not then fortified, and left it to the spoil.

Shortly after, Julius Agricola, the Roman lieutenant, in the time of Domitian, was the first
10 that by adhorting the Britons publicly, and helping them privately, won them to build houses for themselves, temples for the gods, and courts for justice, to bring up the noblemen's children in good letters and humanity, and to apparel themselves Roman like, whereas before, for the most part, they went naked, painting their bodies, &c., as all the Roman writers have observed.

True it is, I confess, that afterwards many cities and towns in Britain, under the government of the
20 Romans, were walled with stone, and baked bricks or tiles, as Richborough or Ryphtacester, in the Isle of Thanet, until the channel altered his course, beside Sandwich in Kent; Verulamium, beside St. Albans, in Hertfordshire; Silchester, in Hampshire; Wroxeter, in Shropshire; Kenchester, in Herefordshire, three miles from Hereford town; Ribchester, seven miles above Preston, on the water of Ribble; Aldborough, a mile from Borough-bridge, or Watling Street, on Ure river, and others.
30 And no doubt but this city of London was also walled with stone, in the time of the Roman government here, but yet very lately, for it seemeth

not to have been walled in the year of our Lord 296, because in that year, when Alectus the tyrant was slain in the field, the Franks easily entered London, and had sacked the same, had not God, of his great favour, at the very instant, brought along the river of Thames certain bands of Roman soldiers, who slew those Franks in every street of the city.

In few years after, as Simeon of Durham, an ancient writer, reporteth, Helen, the mother of ¹⁰ Constantine the Great, was the first that inwalled this city, about the year of Christ, 306. But however those walls of stone might have been built by Helen, yet the Britons, I know, had no skill of building with stone, as it may appear by that which followeth, about the year of Christ 399, when Arcadius and Honorius, the sons of Theodosius Magnus, governed the empire, the one in the east, the other in the west. For Honorius having received Britain, the city of Rome was ²⁰ invaded and destroyed by the Goths, after which time the Romans left to rule in Britain, as being employed in defence of their territories nearer home; whereupon the Britons, not able to defend themselves against the invasions of their enemies, were many years together under the oppression of two most cruel nations, the Scots and Picts, and at the length were forced to send their ambassadors with letters and lamentable supplications to Rome, requiring aid and succour from thence, upon ³⁰ promise of their continual fealty so that the Romans would rescue them out of the hands of

their enemies. Hereupon the Romans sent unto them a legion of armed soldiers, which coming into this island, and encountering with the enemies, overthrew a great number of them, and drove the rest out of the frontiers of the country ; and so setting the Britons at liberty, counselled them to make a wall, extending all along between the two seas, which might be of force to keep out their evil neighbours, and then returned home with
10 great triumph. The Britons, wanting masons, built that wall not of stone as they were advised, but made it of turf, and that so slender that it served little or nothing at all for their defence ; and the enemy perceiving that the Roman legion was returned home, forthwith arrived out of their boats, invaded the borders, overcame the country, and, as it were, bore down all that was before them.

Whereupon ambassadors were eftsoon de-
20 spatched to Rome, lamentably beseeching that they would not suffer their miserable country to be utterly destroyed. Then again another legion was sent, which coming upon a sudden, made a great slaughter of the enemy, and chased him home even to his own country. These Romans, at their departure, told the Britons plainly, that it was not for their ease or leisure to take upon them any more such long and laborious journeys for their defence, and therefore bade them practise the
30 use of armour and weapons, and learn to withstand their enemies, whom nothing else did make so strong as their faint heart and cowardice. And

for so much as they thought that it would be no small help and encouragement unto their tributary friends whom they were forced now to forsake, they built for them a wall of hard stone from the west sea to the east sea, right between those two cities which were there made to keep out the enemy, in the self-same place where Severus before had cast his trench, the Britons also putting-to their helping hands as labourers.

This wall they built eight feet thick in breadth, 10 and twelve feet in height, right, as it were by a line, from east to west, as the ruins thereof remaining in many places until this day do make to appear. Which work, thus perfected, they give the people strait charge to look well to themselves, they teach them to handle their weapons, and they instruct them in warlike feats. And lest by the seaside southwards, where their ships lay at harbour, the enemy should come on land, they made up sundry bulwarks, each some- 20 what distant from the other, and so bid them farewell, as minding no more to return. This happened in the days of the Emperor Theodosius the younger, almost 500 years after the first arrival of the Romans here, about the year after Christ's incarnation, 434.

The Britons after this, continuing a lingering and doubtful war with the Scots and Picts, made choice of Vortigern to be their king and leader, which man, as saith Malmesbury, was neither 30 valorous of courage, nor wise of counsel, but wholly given over to the unlawful lusts of his flesh. The

people likewise, in short time, being grown to some quietness, gave themselves to gluttony and drunkenness, pride, contention, envy, and such other vices, casting from them the yoke of Christ. In the mean season, a bitter plague fell among them, consuming in short time such a multitude, that the quick were not sufficient to bury the dead ; and yet the remnant remained so hardened in sin, that neither death of their friends, nor fear of their own
10 danger, could cure the mortality of their souls. Whereupon a greater stroke of vengeance ensued upon the whole sinful nation. For being now again infested with their old neighbours the Scots and Picts, they consult with their king Vortigern, and send for the Saxons, who shortly after arrived here in Britain, where, saith Bede, they were received as friends ; but as it proved, they minded to destroy the country as enemies. For after that they had driven out the Scots and Picts, they also
20 drove the Britons, some over the seas, some into the waste mountains of Wales and Cornwall, and divided the country into divers kingdoms amongst themselves.

These Saxons were likewise ignorant of building with stone until the year 680 ; for then it is affirmed that Benet, Abbot of Wearmouth, master to the Reverend Bede, first brought artificers of stone houses and glass windows into this island amongst the Saxons, arts before that time unto
30 them unknown, and therefore used they but wooden buildings. And to this accordeth Polycronicon, who says, "that then had ye wooden

churches, nay wooden chalices and golden priests, but since golden chalices and wooden priests." And to knit up this argument, King Edgar in his charter to the abbey of Malmesbury, dated the year of Christ 974, hath words to this effect: "All the monasteries in my realm, to the outward sight, are nothing but worm-eaten and rotten timber and boards, and that worse is, within they are almost empty, and void of Divine service."

10

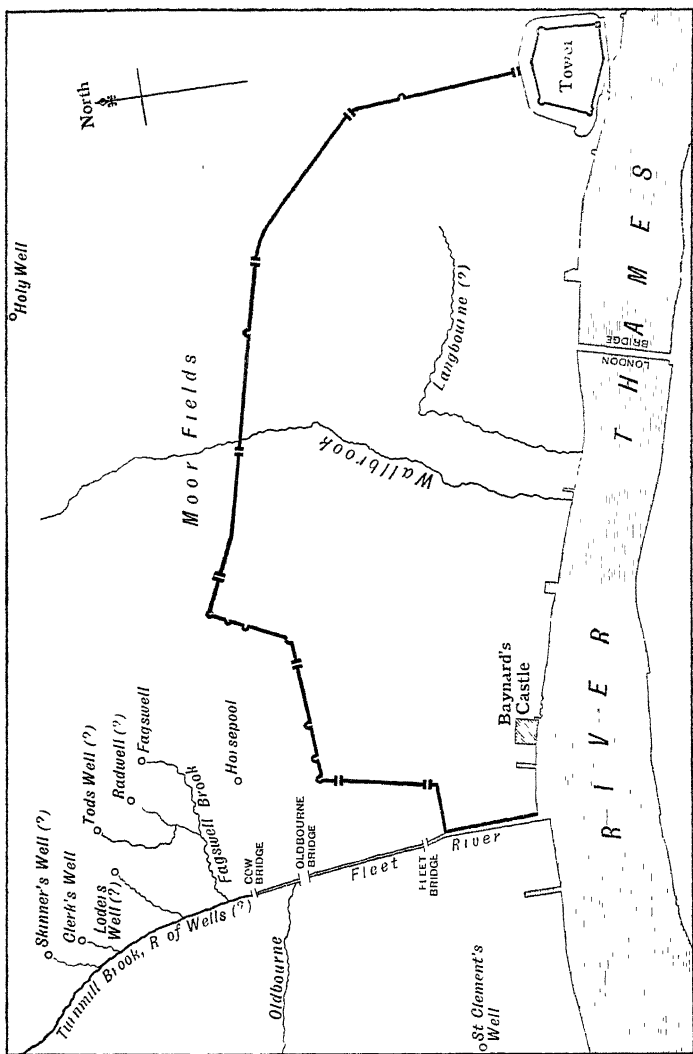
William Fitzstephen, in the reign of King Henry II., writing of the walls of this city, hath these words: "The wall is high and great, well towered on the north side, with due distances between the towers. On the south side also the city was walled and towered, but the fishful river of Thames, with his ebbing and flowing, hath long since subverted them."

By the north side, he meaneth from the river of Thames in the east to the river of Thames in 20 the west, for so stretched the wall in his time, and the city being far more in length from east to west than in breadth from south to north, and also narrower at both ends than in the midst, is therefore compassed with the wall on the land side, in form of a bow, except denting in betwixt Cripplegate and Aldersgate; but the wall on the south side, along by the river of Thames, was straight as the string of a bow, and all furnished with towers or bulwarks, as we now term them, in due distance 30 every one from other, as witnesseth our author, and ourselves may behold from the land side. This

may suffice for proof of a wall, and form thereof, about this city, and the same to have been of great antiquity as any other within this realm.

Of Ancient and Present Rivers, Brooks, Bourns, Pools, Wells, and Conduits of Fresh Water, serving the City, as also of the Ditch compassing the Wall of the same for Defence thereof

ANCIENTLY, until the Conqueror's time, and two hundred years after, the city of London was
10 watered, besides the famous river of Thames on the south part, with the river of Wells, as it was then called, on the west; with the water called Walbrook running through the midst of the city in the river of Thames, serving the heart thereof; and with a fourth water or bourn, which ran within the city through Langbourne Ward, watering that part in the east. In the west suburbs was also another great water, called Oldbourne, which had its fall into the river of Wells; then
20 were there three principal fountains, or wells, in the other suburbs; to wit, Holy Well, Clement's Well, and Clerks' Well. Near unto this last-named fountain were divers other wells, to wit, Skinners' Well, Fags' Well, Tode Well, Loder's Well, and Radwell. All which said wells, having the fall of their overflowing in the aforesaid river, much increased the stream, and in that place gave it the name of Well. In West Smithfield there was a pool, in records called Horsepool, and one other



Adapted from Mr. C. L. Kingsford's, 'Stow's Survey of London', Oxford 1908, by permission of the Clarendon Press.

J. Henry Walker

MAP OF THE RIVERS, BROOKS, AND WELLS OF LONDON

To face page 12.

pool near unto the parish church of St. Giles without Cripplegate. Besides all which, they had in every street and lane of the city divers fair wells and fresh springs; and after this manner was this city then served with sweet and fresh waters, which being since decayed, other means have been sought to supply the want, as shall be shown. But first of the aforementioned rivers and other waters is to be said, as following :—

Thames, the most famous river of this island, ¹⁰ beginneth a little above a village called Winchcombe, in Oxfordshire; and still increasing, passeth first by the University of Oxford, and so with a marvellous quiet course to London, and thence breaketh into the French Ocean by main tides, which twice in twenty-four hours' space doth ebb and flow more than sixty miles in length, to the great commodity of travellers, by which all kind of merchandise be easily conveyed to London, the principal store-house and staple ²⁰ of all commodities within this realm. So that, omitting to speak of great ships and other vessels of burthen, there pertaineth to the cities of London, Westminster, and borough of Southwark, above the number, as is supposed, of 2000 wherries and other small boats, whereby 3000 poor men, at the least, be set on work and maintained.

That the river of Wells, in the west part of the city, was of old so called of the wells, it may be ³⁰ proved thus :—William the Conqueror, in his charter to the College of St. Martin le Grand, in

London, hath these words : " I do give and grant to the same church all the land and the moor without the postern which is called Cripplegate, on either part of the postern ; that is to say, from the north corner of the wall, as the river of the Wells, there near running, departeth the same moor from the wall, unto the running water which entereth the city." This water hath long since been called the river of the Wells, which name of
10 river continued ; and it was so called in the reign of Edward I., as shall be shown, with also the decay of the said river. In a fair book of Parliament Records, now lately restored to the Tower, it appeareth that a Parliament being holden at Carlisle in the year 1307, the 35th of Edward I, " Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, complained, that whereas in times past the course of water, running at London under Oldbourne Bridge and Fleet Bridge into the Thames, had been of
20 such breadth and depth, that ten or twelve ships' navies at once, with merchandise, were wont to come to the foresaid bridge of Fleet, and some of them to Oldbourne Bridge : now the same course, by filth of the tanners and such others, was sore decayed ; also by raising of wharfs ; but especially, by a diversion of the water made by them of the new Temple for their mills standing without Baynards Castle, in the first year of King John, and divers others impediments, so as the said ships
30 could not enter as they were wont, and as they ought : wherefore he desired that the mayor of London, with the sheriffs and other discreet

aldermen, might be appointed to view the course of the said water; and that by the oaths of good men, all the aforesaid hindrances might be removed, and it to be made as it was wont of old. Whereupon Roger le Brabason, the constable of the Tower, with the mayor and sheriffs, were assigned to take with them honest and discreet men, and to make diligent search and enquiry how the said river was in old time, and that they leave nothing that may hurt or stop it, but keep ¹⁰ it in the same state that it was wont to be." So far the record. Whereupon it followed that the said river was at that time cleansed, these mills removed, and other things done for the preservation of the course thereof, notwithstanding it was never brought to the old depth and breadth; whereupon the name of river ceased, and it was since called a brook, namely, Turnmill or Tremill Brook, for that divers mills were erected upon it, as appeareth by a fair register-book, containing ²⁰ the foundation of the priory at Clerkenwell, and donation of the lands thereunto belonging, as also by divers other records.

This brook hath been divers times since cleansed, namely, and last of all to any effect, in the year 1502, the 17th of Henry VII., the whole course of Fleet Dike, then so called, was scoured, I say, down to the Thames, so that boats with fish and fuel were rowed to Fleet Bridge, and to Oldbourne Bridge, as they of old time had been ³⁰ accustomed, which was a great commodity to all the inhabitants in that part of the city.

In the year 1589 was granted a fifteenth, by a common council of the city, for the cleansing of this brook or dike; the money, amounting to a thousand marks, was collected, and it was undertaken, that by drawing divers springs about Hampstead Heath into one head and course, both the city should be served of fresh water in all places of want; and also, that by such a follower, as men call it, the channel of this brook should
10 be scoured into the river of Thames; but much money being therein spent, the effect failed, so that the brook, by means of continual encroachments upon the banks getting over the water and casting of soilage into the stream, is now become worse cloyed and choken than ever it was before.

The running water, so called by William the Conqueror in his said charter, which entereth the city, &c. (before there was any ditch) between Bishopsgate and the late made postern called
20 Moorgate, entered the wall, and was truly of the wall called Walbrook, not of Gualo, as some have far fetched. It ran through the city with divers windings from the north towards the south into the river of Thames, and had over the same divers bridges along the streets and lanes through which it passed. I have read in a book entitled the Customs of London, that the prior of the Holy Trinity within Aldgate ought to make over Walbrook in the ward of Broadstreet, against the
30 stone wall of the city, viz., the same bridge that is next the Church of All Saints, at the wall. Also that the prior of the new hospital, St. Mary Spital

without Bishopsgate, ought to make the middle part of one other bridge next to the said bridge towards the north : and that in the twenty-eighth year of Edward I. it was by inquisition found before the mayor of London, that the parish of St. Stephen upon Walbrook ought of right to scour the course of the said brook, and therefore the sheriffs were commanded to distrain the said parishioners so to do, in the year 1300 The keepers of those bridges at that time were William 10 Jordan and John de Bever. This water-course, having divers bridges, was afterwards vaulted over with brick, and paved level with the streets and lanes wherethrough it passed, and since that, also houses have been built thereon, so that the course of Walbrook is now hidden under ground, and thereby hardly known.

Langbourne Water, so called of the length thereof, was a great stream breaking out of the ground in Fenchurch Street, which ran down with 20 a swift course, west, through that street athwart Grastreet, and down Lombard Street, to the west end of St. Mary Wolnoth's Church, and then turning the course down Sharebourne Lane, so termed of sharing or dividing, it brake into divers rills or rillets to the river of Thames: of this bourn that ward took the name, and is till this day called Langbourne Ward. This bourn also is long since stopped up at the head, and the rest of the course filled up and paved over, so that no 30 sign thereof remaineth more than the names aforesaid

Oldbourne, or Hilbourne, was the like water, breaking out about the place where now the bars do stand, and it ran down the whole street till Oldbourne Bridge, and into the river of the Wells, or Turnmill Brook. This bourn was likewise long since stopped up at the head, and in other places where the same hath broken out, but yet till this day the said street is there called High Oldbourne Hill, and both the sides thereof, together with all
10 the grounds adjoining that lie betwixt it and the river of Thames, remain full of springs, so that water is there found at hand, and hard to be stopped in every house.

There are (saith Fitzstephen) near London, on the north side, special wells in the suburbs, sweet, wholesome, and clear; amongst which Holy Well, Clerkes' Well, and Clement's Well, are most famous, and frequented by scholars and youths of the city in summer evenings, when they walk
20 forth to take the air.

The first, to wit, Holy Well, is much decayed and marred with filthiness purposely laid there, for the heightening of the ground for garden-plots.

The fountain called St. Clement's Well, north from the parish church of St. Clements, and near unto an inn of Chancery called Clement's Inn, is fair curbed square with hard stone, kept clean for common use, and is always full.

The third is called Clerkes' Well, or Clerkenwell, and is curbed about square with hard stone,
30 well, and is curbed about square with hard stone, not far from the west end of Clerkenwell Church, but close without the wall that incloseth it. The

said church took the name of the well, and the well took the name of the parish clerks in London, who of old time were accustomed there yearly to assemble, and to play some large history of Holy Scripture. And for example of later time, to wit, in the year 1390, the 14th of Richard II., I read, the parish clerks of London, on the 18th of July, played interludes at Skinners' Well, near unto Clerkes' Well, which play continued three days together, the king, queen, and 10 nobles being present. Also in the year 1409, the 10th of Henry IV., they played a play at the Skinners' Well, which lasted eight days, and was of matter from the creation of the world. There were to see the same the most part of the nobles and gentles in England, &c.

The said river of the Wells, the running water of Walbrook, the bourns aforenamed, and other the fresh waters that were in and about this city, being in process of time, by incroachment for 20 buildings and heightenings of grounds, utterly decayed, and the number of citizens mightily increased, they were forced to seek sweet waters abroad; whereof some, at the request of King Henry III., in the twenty-first year of his reign, were, for the profit of the city, and good of the whole realm thither repairing, to wit, for the poor to drink, and the rich to dress their meat, granted to the citizens and their successors, by one Gilbert Sanforde, with liberty to convey water from the 30 town of Tybourne by pipes of lead into their city.

Bridges of this City.

THE original foundation of London Bridge, by report of Bartholomew Linsted, *alias* Fowle, last prior of St. Mary Overies Church in Southwark, was this : A ferry being kept in place where now the bridge is built, at length the ferryman and his wife deceasing, left the same ferry to their only daughter, a maiden named Mary, which with the goods left by her parents, and also with the
10 profits arising of the said ferry, built a house of Sisters, in place where now standeth the east part of St. Mary Overies Church, above the choir, where she was buried, unto which house she gave the oversight and profits of the ferry. But afterwards the said House of Sisters being converted into a College of Priests, the priests built the bridge, of timber, as all the other the great bridges of this land were, and from time to time kept the same in good reparations, till at length,
20 considering the great charges of repairing the same, there was, by aid of the citizens of London, and others, a bridge built with arches of stone, as shall be shown.

About the year 1176, the stone bridge over the river of Thames, at London, was begun to be founded by the aforesaid Peter of Cole Church, near unto the bridge of timber, but somewhat more towards the west, for I read, that Botolph Wharf was, in the Conqueror's time, at the head of
30 London Bridge. The king assisted this work : a cardinal then being legate here ; and Richard,

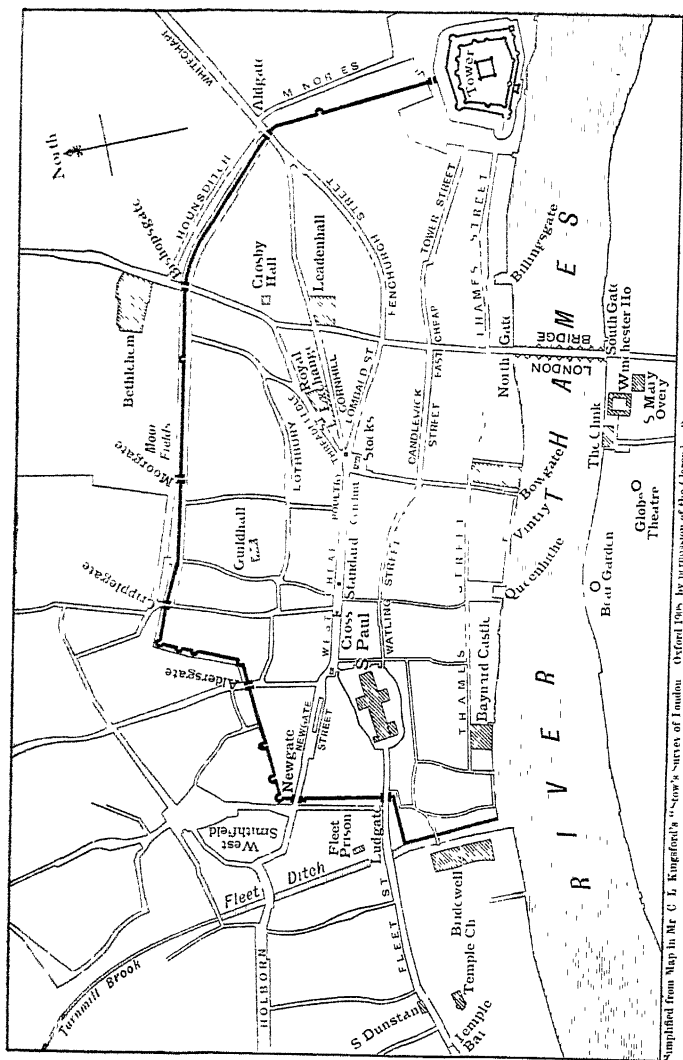
Archbishop of Canterbury, gave one thousand marks towards the foundation. The course of the river, for the time, was turned another way about, by a trench cast for that purpose, beginning, as is supposed, east about Radriffe, and ending in the west about Patricksey, now termed Battersea. This work, to wit, the arches, chapel and stone bridge, over the river of Thames, at London, having been thirty-three years in building, was in the year 1209 finished by the worthy merchants¹⁰ of London, Serle Mercer, William Almaine, and Benedict Botewrite, principal masters of that work, for Peter of Cole Church deceased four years before, and was buried in the chapel on the bridge, in the year 1205.

King John gave certain void places in London to build upon, the profits thereof to remain towards the charges of building and repairing the same bridge. A mason, being master workman of the bridge, builded from the foundation the large²⁰ chapel on that bridge of his own charges, which chapel was then endowed for two priests, four clerks, &c., besides chantries since founded for John Hatfield and other. After the finishing of this chapel, which was the first building upon those arches, sundry houses at times were erected, and many charitable men gave lands, tenements, or sums of money, towards maintenance thereof, all which was sometime noted and in a table fair written for posterity, remaining in the chapel, until³⁰ the same chapel was turned into a dwelling house, and then removed to the Bridge House.

Fleet Bridge in the west without Ludgate, a bridge of stone, fair coped on either side with iron pikes ; on the which, towards the south, be also certain lanthorns of stone, for lights to be placed in the winter evenings, for commodity of travellers. Under this bridge runneth a water, sometimes called, as I have said, the river of the Wells, since Turnmill Brook, now Fleet Dike, because it runneth by the Fleet, and sometime about the
10 Fleet, so under Fleet Bridge into the river of Thames. This bridge hath been far greater in times past, but lessened, as the water course hath been narrowed. It seemeth this last bridge to be made or repaired at the charges of John Wels, mayor, in the year 1431, for on the coping is engraven Wels embraced by angels, like as on the standard of Cheap, which he also built. Thus much of the bridge : for of the watercourse, and decay thereof, I have spoken in another
20 place.

Oldbourne Bridge, over the said river of the Wells more towards the north, was so called, of a bourn that sometimes ran down Oldbourne Hill into the said river. This bridge of stone, like as Fleet Bridge from Ludgate West, serveth for passengers with carriage or otherwise, from Newgate toward the west and by north.

There have been of old time also, divers bridges in sundry places over the course of Walbrook, as
30 before I have partly noted, besides Horseshoe Bridge, by the Church of St. John Baptist, now called St. John's upon Walbrook. I read, that of



old time every person having lands on either side of the said brook, should cleanse the same, and repair the bridges so far as their lands extended.

And thus much for bridges in this city may suffice.

Gates in the Wall of this City.

GATES in the wall of this city of old time were four; to wit, Aldgate for the east, Aldersgate for the north, Ludgate for the west, and the Bridge-¹⁰ gate over the river of Thames for the south; but of later times, for the ease of citizens and passengers, divers other gates and posterns have been made, as shall be shown.

In the reign of Henry II. (saith Fitzstephen) there were seven double gates in the wall of this city, but he nameth them not. It may, therefore, be supposed, he meant for the first, the gate next the Tower of London, now commonly called the Postern, the next be Aldgate, the third Bishops-²⁰ gate, the fourth Aldersgate, the fifth Newgate, the sixth Ludgate, the seventh Bridgegate. Since the which time hath been builded the postern called Moorgate, a postern from Christ's Hospital towards St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Smithfield, &c. Now of every of these gates and posterns in the wall, and also of certain water-gates on the river of Thames, severally, somewhat may and shall be noted, as I find authority, or reasonable conjecture to warrant me.

For the first, now called the postern by the Tower of London, it showeth by that part which yet remaineth, to have been a fair and strong arched gate, partly built of hard stone of Kent, and partly of stone brought from Caen in Normandy, since the Conquest, and foundation of the high tower; and served for passengers on foot out of the east, from thence through the city to Ludgate in the west. The ruin and overthrow of this gate
10 and postern began in the year 1190, the 2nd of Richard I., when William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, Chancellor of England, caused a part of the city wall, to wit, from the said gate towards the river of Thames to the white tower, to be broken down, for the enlarging of the said tower, which he then compassed far wide about with a wall embattled, and is now the outer wall. He also caused a broad and deep ditch to be made without the same wall, intending to have derived the river
20 of Thames with her tides to have flowed about it, which would not be. But the south side of this gate, being then by undermining at the foundation loosened and greatly weakened; at length,—to wit, after two hundred years and odd,—the same fell down in the year 1440, the 18th of Henry VI., and was never since by the citizens re-edified.

The next gate in the east is called Aldgate. Of the antiquity or age thereof: this is one and the first of the four principal gates, and also one
30 of the seven double gates, mentioned by Fitzstephen. It hath had two pair of gates, though now but one; the hooks remaineth yet. Also

there hath been two portcullisses; the one of them remaineth, the other wanteth, but the place of letting down is manifest. For antiquity of the gate: it appeareth by a charter of King Edgar to the knights of Knighten Guild, that in his days the said port was called Aldgate, as ye may read in the ward of Portsoken. Also Matilda the queen, wife to Henry I., having founded the priory of the Holy Trinity within Aldgate, gave unto the same church, to Norman the first prior and the 10 canons that devoutly served God therein, the port of Aldgate and the soke or franchises thereunto belonging, with all customs as free as she held the same, in the which charter she nameth the house Christ's Church, and reporteth Aldgate to be of his domain.

The third, and next toward the north, is called Bishopsgate, for that, as it may be supposed, the same was first built by some Bishop of London, though now unknown when, or by whom. But 20 true it is, that the first gate was first built for ease of passengers toward the east, and by north, as into Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, &c.; the travellers into which parts, before the building of this gate were forced, passing out at Aldgate, to go east till they came to the Mile's End, and then turning on the left hand to Bethenhall Green to Cambridge Heath, and so north, or east, and by north, as their journey lay. If they took not this way, by the east out at Aldgate, they must take 30 their way by the north out at Aldersgate, through Aldersgate Street and Goswell Street towards

Iseldon, and by a cross of stone on their right hand, set up for a mark by the north end of Golding Lane, to turn eastward through a long street, until this day called Alder Street, to another cross standing, where now a smith's forge is placed by Sewer's-ditch Church, and then to turn again north towards Tottenham, Endfield, Waltham, Ware, &c. The eldest note that I read of this Bishopsgate, is that William Blund, one of the
10 sheriffs of London, in the year 1210, sold to Serle Mercer, and William Almaine, procurators or wardens of London Bridge, all his land, with the garden, in the parish of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate, between the land of Richard Casiarin, towards the north, and the land of Robert Crispie towards the south, and the highway called Bearwards Lane on the east, &c.

Touching the next postern, called Moorgate, I find that Thomas Falconer, mayor, about the year
20 1415, the third of Henry V., caused the wall of the city to be broken near unto Coleman Street, and there built a postern, now called Moorgate, upon the moor side where was never gate before. This gate he made for ease of the citizens, that way to pass upon causeys into the field for their recreation : for the same field was at that time a parish. This postern was re-edified by William Hampton, fishmonger, mayor, in the year 1472. In the year also, 1511, the third of Henry VIII.,
30 Roger Acheley, mayor, caused dikes and bridges to be made, and the ground to be levelled, and made more commodious for passage, since which

time the same hath been heightened: so much that the ditches and bridges are covered and seemeth to me that if it be made level with the battlements of the city wall, yet will it be little the drier, such is the moorish nature of that ground.

The next is the postern of Cripplegate, so called long before the Conquest. For I read in the history of Edmond, king of the East Angles, written by Abbo Floriacensis, and by Burchard, sometime secretary to Offa, king of Mercia, but ¹⁰ since by John Lydgate, monk of Bury, that in the year 1010, the Danes spoiling the kingdom of the East Angles, Alwyne, Bishop of Helmeham, caused the body of King Edmond the Martyr to be brought from Bedrisworth (now called Bury St. Edmondes), through the kingdom of the East Saxons, and so to London in at Cripplegate; a place, saith mine author, so called of cripples begging there. at which gate, it was said, the body entering, miracles were wrought, as some of ²⁰ the lame to go upright, praising God. The body of King Edmond rested for the space of three years in the parish church of St. Gregorie, near unto the cathedral church of St. Paul.

The next is Ældresgate, or Aldersgate, so called not of Aldrich or of Elders, that is to say, ancient men, builders thereof; not of Eldarne trees, growing there more abundantly than in other places, as some hath fabled, but for the very antiquity of the gate itself, as being one of the first four gates ³⁰ of the city, and serving for the northern parts, as Aldgate for the east; which two gates, being both

old gates, are for difference sake called, the one Aldgate, and the other Aldersgate. This is the fourth principal gate, and hath at sundry times been increased with buildings, namely, on the south, or inner side, a great frame of timber hath been added and set up, containing divers large rooms and lodgings; also on the east side is the addition of one great building of timber, with one large floor, paved with stone or tile, and a well
10 therein kerbed with stone, of a great depth, and rising into the said room, two stories high from the ground; which well is the only peculiar note belonging to that gate, for I have not seen the like in all this city to be raised so high. John Day, stationer, a late famous printer of many good books, in our time dwelt in this gate, and built much upon the wall of the city towards the parish church of St. Anne.

Then is there also a postern gate, made out of
20 the wall on the north side of the late dissolved cloister of Friars Minors, commonly of their habit called Grey friars, now Christ's Church and Hospital. This postern was made in the first year of Edward VI. to pass from the said hospital of Christ's Church unto the hospital of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield.

The next gate on the west, and by north, is termed Newgate, as latelier built than the rest, and is the fifth principal gate. This gate was
30 first erected about the reign of Henry I. or of King Stephen, upon this occasion. The cathedral church of St. Paul, being burnt about the year

1086, in the reign of William the Conqueror, Mauritius, then bishop of London, repaired not the old church, as some have supposed, but began the foundation of a new work, such as men then judged would never have been performed; it was to them so wonderful for height, length, and breadth, as also in respect it was raised upon arches or vaults, a kind of workmanship brought in by the Normans, and never known to the artificers of this land before that time. After 10 Mauritius, Richard Beamore did wonderfully advance the work of the said church, purchasing the large streets and lanes round about, wherein were wont to dwell many lay people, which grounds he began to compass about with a strong wall of stone and gates. By means of this increase of the church territory, but more by inclosing of ground for so large a cemetery or churchyard, the high and large street stretching from Aldgate in the east until Ludgate in the west, was in this 20 place so crossed and stopped up, that the carriage through the city westward was forced to pass without the said churchyard wall on the north side, through Paternoster Row; and then south, down Ave Mary Lane, and again west, through Bowyer Row to Ludgate; or else out of Cheap, or Watheling Street, to turn south, through the old Exchange; then west through Carter Lane, again north by Creed Lane, and then west to Ludgate: which passage, by reason of so often 30 turning, was very cumbersome and dangerous both for horse and man; for remedy whereof a new

gate was made, and so called, by which men and cattle, with all manner of carriages, might pass more directly (as afore) from Aldgate, through West Cheap by Paul's, on the north side; through St. Nicholas Shambles and Newgate Market to Newgate, and from thence to any part westward over Oldbourne Bridge, or turning without the gate into Smithfield, and through Iseldon to any part north and by west. This gate hath of long
10 time been a gaol, or prison for felons and trespassers, as appeareth by records in the reign of King John, and of other kings; amongst the which I find one testifying, that in the year 1218, the 3rd of King Henry III., the king writeth unto the sheriffs of London, commanding them to repair the gaol of Newgate for the safe keeping of his prisoners, promising that the charges laid out should be allowed unto them upon their account in the Exchequer.

20 In the west is the next, and sixth principal gate, and is called Ludgate, as first built, saith Geoffry Monmouth, by King Lud, a Briton, about the year before Christ's nativity, 66. Of which building, and also of the name, as Ludsgate, or Fludsgate, hath been of late some question among the learned; wherefore I overpass it, as not to my purpose, only referring the reader to that I have before written out of Cæsar's Commentaries, and other Roman writers, concerning a
30 town or city amongst the Britons. This gate I suppose to be one of the most ancient; and as Aldgate was built for the east, so was this

Ludsgate for the west. I read, as I told you, that in the year 1215, the 17th of King John, the barons of the realm, being in arms against the king, entered this city, and spoiled the Jews' houses; which being done, Robert Fitzwater and Geoffrey de Magnavilla, Earl of Essex, and the Earl of Gloucester, chief leaders of the army, applied all diligence to repair the gates and walls of this city, with the stones of the Jews' broken houses, especially, as it seemeth, they then repaired, 10 or rather new built Ludgate. For in the year 1586, when the same gate was taken down to be newly built, there was found couched within the wall thereof a stone taken from one of the Jews' houses, wherein was graven in Hebrew characters these words following : **זה מצב הדי משה די היבן יצחק**. *Hæc est statio Rabbi Moses, filii insignis Rabbi Isaac*: which is to say, this is the station or ward of Rabbi Moyses, the son of the honourable Rabbi Isaac, and had been fixed upon the 20 front of one of the Jews' houses, as a note or sign that such a one dwelt there. In the year 1260, this Ludgate was repaired and beautified with images of Lud, and other kings, as appeareth by letters patent, of license given to the citizens of London, to take up stone for that purpose, dated the 25th of Henry III. These images of kings, in the reign of Edward VI. had their heads smitten off and were otherwise defaced by such as judged every image to be an idol; and in the 30 reign of Queen Mary were repaired, as by setting new heads on their old bodies, &c. All which so

remained until the year 1586, the 28th of Queen Elizabeth, when the same gate being sore decayed, was clean taken down ; the prisoners in the meantime remaining in the large south-east quadrant to the same gate adjoining ; and the same year the whole gate was newly and beautifully built, with the images of Lud and others, as afore, on the east side, and the picture of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth on the west side : all which was done at
10 the common charges of the citizens, amounting to fifteen hundred pounds or more.

Of Towers and Castles.

“THE city of London (saith Fitzstephen) hath in the east a very great and a most strong palatine Tower, whose turrets and walls do rise from a deep foundation, the mortar thereof being temperey with the blood of beasts. In the west part are two most strong castles, &c.” To begin therefore with the most famous Tower of London, situate in
20 the east, near unto the river of Thames : it hath been the common opinion, and some have written—but of none assured ground—that Julius Cæsar, the first conqueror of the Britons, was the original author and founder, as well thereof as also of many other towers, castles, and great buildings within this realm ; but (as I have already before noted) Cæsar remained not here so long, nor had he in his head any such matter, but only to dispatch a conquest of this barbarous country, and

to proceed to greater matters. Neither do the Roman writers make mention of any such buildings created by him here; and therefore leaving this, and proceeding to more grounded authority, I find in a fair register-book, containing the acts of the Bishops of Rochester, set down by Edmond de Hadenham, that William I., surnamed Conqueror, built the Tower of London; to wit, the great white and square tower there, about the year of Christ 1078, appointing Gundulph, then 10 Bishop of Rochester, to be principal surveyor and overseer of that work, who was for that time lodged in the house of Edmere, a burgess of London.

Ye have before heard that the wall of this city was all round about furnished with towers and bulwarks, in due distance every one from other; and also that the river Thames, with his ebbing and flowing, on the south side, had subverted the said wall and towers there. Wherefore King 20 William, for defence of this city, in place most dangerous, and open to the enemy, having taken down the second bulwark in the east part of the wall from the Thames, built this tower, which was the great square tower, now called the White Tower, and hath been since at divers times enlarged with other buildings adjoining, as shall be shown. This tower was by tempest of wind sore shaken in the year 1090, the 4th of William Rufus, and was again by the said Rufus and 30 Henry I. repaired. They also caused a castle to be built under the said tower, namely, on the

south side towards the Thames, and also incastelated the same round about.

Henry Huntington, libro sexto, hath these words: "William Rufus challenged the investure of prelates; he pilled and shaved the people with tribute, especially to spend about the Tower of London and the great hall at Westminster."

About the year 1190, the 2nd of Richard I., William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, Chancellor of
10 England, for cause of dissension betwixt him and Earl John, the king's brother that was rebel, inclosed the tower and castle of London with an outward wall of stone embattled, and also caused a deep ditch to be cast about the same, thinking, as I have said before, to have environed it with the river of Thames. By the making of this enclosure and ditch in East Smithfield, the Church of the Holy Trinity in London lost half a mark rent by the year, and the mill was removed that
20 belonged to the poor brethren of the Hospital of St. Katherine, and to the Church of the Holy Trinity aforesaid, which was no small loss and discommodity to either part; and the garden which the king had hired of the brethren, for six marks the year, for the most part was wasted and marred by the ditch. Recompense was often promised, but never performed, until King Edward coming after, gave to the brethren five marks and a half for that part which the ditch had
30 devoured, and the other part thereof without he yielded to them again, which they hold: and of the said rent of five marks and a half, they have

a deed, by virtue whereof they are well paid to this day.

It is also to be noted, and cannot be denied but that the said enclosure and ditch took the like or greater quantity of ground from the city within the wall; namely one, of that part called the Tower Hill, besides breaking down of the city wall from the White Tower to the first gate of the city called the Postern; yet have I not read of any quarrel made by the citizens, or recompense ¹⁰ demanded by them for that matter, because all was done for good of the city's defence thereof, and to their good likings. But Matthew Paris writeth that, in the year 1239, King Henry III. fortified the Tower of London to another end, wherefore the citizens, fearing lest that were done to their detriment, complained; and the king answered, that he had not done it to their hurt, but, saith he, I will from henceforth do as my brother doth, in building and fortifying castles, ²⁰ who beareth the name to be wiser than I am. It followed in the next year, saith mine author, the said noble buildings of the stone gate and bulwark, which the king had caused to be made by the Tower of London, on the west side thereof, were shaken as it had been with an earthquake, and fell down, which the king again commanded to be built in better sort than before, which was done. And yet again, in the year 1247, the said wall and bulwarks that were newly built, wherein the ³⁰ king had bestowed more than twelve thousand marks, were irrecoverably thrown down, as afore.

For the which chance the citizens of London were nothing sorry, for they were threatened that the said wall and bulwarks were built, to the end that if any of them would contend for the liberties of the city, they might be imprisoned ; and that many might be laid in divers prisons, many lodgings were made that no one should speak with another : thus much Matthew Paris for this building. More of Henry III. his dealings against
10 the citizens of London we may read in the said author, in 1245, 1248, 1249, 1253, 1255, 1256, &c. But, concerning the said wall and bulwark, the same was finished, though not in his time ; for I read that Edward I., in the second of his reign, commanded the treasurer and chamberlain of the Exchequer to deliver out of his treasury unto Miles of Antwerp two hundred marks, of the fines taken out of divers merchants or usurers of London, for so be the words of the record, towards
20 the work of the ditch then new made about the said bulwark, now called the Lion Tower. I find also recorded, that Henry III., in the 46th of his reign, wrote to Edward of Westminster, commanding him that he should buy certain perie plants, and set the same in the place without his Tower of London, within the wall of the said city, which of late he had caused to be enclosed with a mud wall, as may appear by this that followeth : the mayor and commonalty of London were fined
30 for throwing down the said earthen wall against the Tower of London, the 9th of Edward II. Edward IV. in place thereof built a wall of brick.

But now for the Lion Tower and lions in England, the original, as I have read, was thus.

Henry I. built his manor of Woodstock, with a park, which he walled about with stone, seven miles in compass, destroying for the same divers villages, churches, and chapels; and this was the first park in England. He placed therein, besides great store of deer, divers strange beasts to be kept and nourished, such as were brought to him from far countries, as lions, leopards, lynxes, 10 porpentine, and such other. More, I read that in the year 1235, Frederick the Emperor sent to Henry III. three leopards, in token of his regal shield of arms, wherein three leopards were pictured; since the which time those lions and others have been kept in a part of this bulwark, now called the Lion Tower, and their keepers there lodged. King Edward II., in the 12th of his reign, commanded the sheriffs of London to pay to the keepers of the king's leopard in the 20 Tower of London sixpence the day for the sustenance of the leopard, and three-halfpence a day for diet of the said keeper, out of the fee farm of the said city. More, in the 16th of Edward III., one lion, one lioness, one leopard, and two cat lions, in the said Tower, were committed to the custody of Robert, the son of John Bowre.

And here, because I have by occasion spoken of the west gate of this tower, the same, as the 30 most principal, is used for the receipt and delivery of all kinds of carriages; without the which gate

are divers bulwarks and gates, towards the north, &c. Then near within this west gate, opening to the south, is a strong postern for passengers by the ward-house, over a drawbridge let down for that purpose. Next on the same south side, toward the east, is a large water-gate, for receipt of boats and small vessels, partly under a stone bridge from the river of Thames. Beyond it is a small postern, with a drawbridge, seldom let down
10 but for the receipt of some great persons, prisoners. Then towards the east is a great and strong gate, commonly called the Iron gate, but not usually opened. And thus much for the foundation, building, and repairing of this tower, with the gates and posterns, may suffice.

In the year 1344, King Edward III., in the 18th of his reign, commanded florences of gold to be made and coined in the Tower ; that is to say, a penny piece of the value of six shillings and
20 eightpence, the halfpenny piece of the value of three shillings and fourpence, and a farthing piece worth twenty pence ; Percevall de Port of Lake being then master of the coin. And this is the first coining of gold in the Tower whereof I have read, and also the first coinage of gold in England. I find also recorded, that the said king in the same year ordained his exchange of money to be kept in Serne's Tower, a part of the king's house in Bucklesbury. And here to digress a little, by
30 occasion offered, I find that, in times before passed, all great sums were paid by weight of gold or silver, as so many pounds or marks of

silver, or so many pounds or marks of gold, cut into blanks, and not stamped, as I could prove by many good authorities which I overpass. The smaller sums also were paid in sterlings, which were pence so called, for other coins they had none. The antiquity of this sterling penny usual in this realm is from the reign of Henry II., notwithstanding the Saxon coins before the Conquest were pence of fine silver the full weight, and somewhat better than the latter sterlings, as ¹⁰ I have tried by conference of the pence of Burghrede, king of Mercia, Alfred, Edward, and Edelred, kings of the West Saxons, Plegmond, Archbishop of Canterbury, and others. William the Conqueror's penny also was fine silver of the weight of the easterling, and had on the one side stamped an armed head, with a beardless face—for the Normans wore no beards—with a sceptre in his hand. The inscription in the circumference was this: "Le Rei Wilam," on the other side, a ²⁰ cross double to the ring, between four rowals of six points.

King Henry I. his penny was of the like weight, fineness, form of face, cross, &c.

This Henry, in the 8th year of his reign, ordained the penny, which was round, so to be quartered by the cross, that they might easily be broken into halfpence and farthings. In the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th of King Richard I. his reign, and afterwards, I find commonly easterling ³⁰ money mentioned, and yet oftentimes the same is called argent, as afore, and not otherwise.

The first great sum that I read of to be paid in easterlings was in the reign of Richard I., when Robert, Earl of Leicester, being prisoner in France, proffered for his ransom a thousand marks easterlings, notwithstanding the easterling pence were long before. The weight of the easterling penny may appear by divers statutes, namely, of weights and measures, made in the 51st of Henry III., in these words: "Thirty-two
10 grains of wheat, drie and round, taken in the middest of the eare, shoulde be the weight of a starling penie, 20 of those pence should waye one ounce, 12 ounces a pound Troy." It followeth in the statute eight pound to make a gallon of wine, and eight gallons a bushel of London measure, &c. Notwithstanding which statute, I find, in the 8th of Edward I., Gregorie Rokesley, mayor of London, being chief master or minister of the King's Exchange, or mints, a new
20 coin being then appointed, the pound of easterling money should contain as afore twelve ounces; to wit, fine silver, such as was then made into foil, and was commonly called silver of Guthurons Lane, eleven ounces, two easterlings, and one ferling or farthing, and the other seventeen pence to be alloy. Also, the pound of money ought to weigh twenty shillings and threepence by account; so that no pound ought to be over twenty shillings and threepence, nor less than twenty
30 shillings and twopence by account; the ounce to weigh twenty pence, the penny weight twenty-four grains (which twenty-four by weight then appointed

were as much as the former thirty-two grains of wheat), a penny force twenty-five grains and a half, the penny deble or feeble twenty-two grains and a half, &c.

Now for the penny easterling, how it took that name I think good briefly to touch. It hath been said, that Numa Pompilius, the second king of the Romans, commanded money first to be made, of whose name they were called *nummi*; and when copper pence, silver pence, and gold pence were made, because every silver penny was worth ten copper pence, and every gold penny worth ten silver pence, the pence therefore were called in Latin, *denarii*, and oftentimes the pence are named of the matter and stuff of gold or silver. But the money of England was called of the workers and makers thereof, as the florin of gold is called of the Florentines, that were the workers thereof, and so the easterling pence took their name of the Easterlings which did first make this money in England, in the reign of Henry II. 10

Thus have I set down according to my reading in antiquity of money matters, omitting the imaginations of late writers, of whom some have said easterling money to take that name of a star, stamped in the border or ring of the penny; other some of a bird called a star or starling stamped in the circumference; and other, more unlikely, of being coined at Strivelin or Sterling, a town in Scotland, &c. 30

Now concerning halfpence and farthings, the account of which is more subtle than the pence, I

need not speak of them more than that they were only made in the Exchange at London, and nowhere else: first appointed to be made by Edward I. in the 8th of his reign; and also at the same time the said king coined some few groats of silver, but they were not usual. The King's Exchange at London was near unto the cathedral church of St. Paul, and is to this day commonly called the Old Change, but in
10 evidences the Old Exchange.

The king's exchanger in this place was to deliver out to every other exchanger throughout England, or other the king's dominions, their coining irons, that is to say, one standard or staple, and two trussels or punchons; and when the same was spent and worn, to receive them with an account what sum had been coined, and also their pix or box of assay, and deliver other irons new graven, &c. I find that in the 9th of
20 King John, there was besides the mint at London, other mints at Winchester, Excester, Chichester, Canterbury, Rochester, Ipswich, Norwich, Lynn, Lincoln, York, Carlisle, Northampton, Oxford, St. Edmondsbury, and Durham. The exchanger, examiner, and trier buyeth the silver for coinage, answering for every hundred pounds of silver bought in bullion or otherwise, ninety-eight pounds fifteen shillings, for he taketh twenty-five shillings for coinage.

30 King Edward I., in the 27th of his reign, held a parliament at Stebenheth, in the house of Henry Waleis, mayor of London, wherein amongst other

things there handled, the transporting of sterling money was forbidden.

In the year 1351, William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, and treasurer of England, a wise man, but loving the king's commodity more than the wealth of the whole realm and common people, saith mine author, caused a new coin, called a groat and a half-groat to be coined and stamped, the groat to be taken for fourpence, and the half-groat for twopence, not containing in weight ¹⁰ according to the pence called easterlings, but much less, to wit, by five shillings in the pound; by reason whereof, victuals and merchandises became the dearer through the whole realm. About the same time also, the old coin of gold was changed into a new; but the old florin or noble, then so called, was worth much above the taxed rate of the new, and therefore the merchants engrossed up the old, and conveyed them out of the realm, to the great loss of the kingdom. ²⁰ Wherefore a remedy was provided by changing of the stamp.

In the year 1411, King Henry IV. caused a new coin of nobles to be made, of less value than the old by fourpence in the noble, so that fifty nobles should be a pound troy weight.

In the year 1421 was granted to Henry V. a fifteenth, to be paid at Candlemas and at Martinmas, of such money as was then current, gold or silver, not overmuch clipped or washed; to wit, ³⁰ that if the noble were worth five shillings and eightpence, then the king should take it for a full

noble of six shillings and eightpence, and if it were less of value than five shillings and eightpence, then the person paying that gold to make it good to the value of five shillings and eightpence, the king always receiving it for a whole noble of six shillings and eightpence. And if the noble so paid be better than five shillings and eightpence, the king to pay again the surplusage that it was better than five shillings and eight-
10 pence. Also this year was such scarcity of white money, that though a noble were so good of gold and weight as six shillings and eightpence, men might get no white money for them.

In the year 1465, King Edward IV. caused a new coin both of gold and silver to be made, whereby he gained much ; for he made of an old noble a royal, which he commanded to go for ten shillings. Nevertheless, to the same royal was put eightpence of alloy, and so weighed the
20 more, being smitten with a new stamp, to wit, a rose. He likewise made half-angels of five shillings, and farthings of two shillings and sixpence, angelets of six shillings and eightpence, and half-angels of three shillings and fourpence. He made silver money of threepence, a groat, and so of other coins after that rate, to the great harm of the commons.

In the year 1544, the 35th of Henry VIII., on the 16th of May, proclamation was made for the
30 enhancing of gold to forty-eight shillings, and silver to four shillings the ounce. Also the king caused to be coined base moneys, to wit, pieces of

twelve pence, sixpence, fourpence, twopence, and a penny, in weight as the late sterling, in show good silver, but inwardly copper. These pieces had whole, or broad faces, and continued current after that rate till the 5th of Edward VI., when they were on the 9th of July called down, the shilling to ninepence, the groat to threepence, &c., and on the 17th of August from ninepence to sixpence, &c. And on the 30th of October, was published new coins of silver and gold to be made, a piece of 10 silver five shillings sterling, a piece of two shillings and fivepence, of twelve pence, of sixpence, a penny with a double rose, halfpenny a single rose, and a farthing with a portcullis. Coins of fine gold : a whole sovereign of thirty shillings, an angel of ten shillings, an angelet of five shillings. Of crown gold : a sovereign twenty shillings, half-sovereign ten shillings, five shillings, two shillings and sixpence, and base moneys to pass as before, which continued till the 2nd of Queen Elizabeth, then 20 called to a lower rate, taken to the mint, and refined, the silver whereof being coined with a new stamp of her Majesty, the dross was carried to foul highways, to heighten them. This base money, for the time, caused the old sterling moneys to be hoarded up, so that I have seen twenty-one shillings current given for one old angel to gild withal. Also rents of lands and tenements, with prices of victuals, were raised far beyond the former rates, hardly since to be 30 brought down. Thus much for base moneys coined and current in England have I known.

But for leather moneys, as many people have fondly talked, I find no such matter. I read, that King John of France, being taken prisoner by Edward the Black Prince at the battle of Poitiers, paid a ransom of three millions of florences, whereby he brought the realm into such poverty, that many years after they used leather money, with a little stud or nail of silver in the middle thereof. Thus much for mint and coinage, by
10 occasion of this Tower, under correction of others more skilful, may suffice.

On the north-west side of the city, near unto Redcross Street, there was a tower, commonly called Barbican, or Burhkenning; for that the same being placed on a high ground, and also built of some good height, was in old time as a watch-tower for the city, from whence a man might behold and view the whole city towards the south, and also into Kent, Sussex, and Surrey,
20 and likewise every other way, east, north, or west.

Some other burhkennings, or watch-towers, there were of old time in and about the city, all which were repaired, yea, and others new built, by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, in the reign of King Henry III., when the barons were in arms, and held the city against the king; but the barons being reconciled to his favour in the year 1267, he caused all their burhkennings,
30 watch-towers, and bulwarks, made and repaired by the said earl, to be plucked down, and the ditches to be filled up, so that nought of them might be

seen to remain ; and then was this burhkenning, amongst the rest, overthrown and destroyed ; and although the ditch near thereunto, called Hound's Ditch, was stopped up, yet the street of long time after was called Hound's Ditch ; and of late time more commonly called Barbican. The plot or seat of this burhkenning, or watch-tower, King Edward III., in the year 1336, and the 10th of his reign, gave unto Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, by the name of his manor of Base Court, in the 10 parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, of London, commonly called the Barbican.

Of Schools and other Houses of Learning.

"IN the reign of King Stephen and of Henry II.," saith Fitzstephen, "there were in London three principal churches, which had famous schools, either by privilege and ancient dignity, or by favour of some particular persons, as of doctors which were accounted notable and renowned for knowledge in philosophy. And there were other 20 inferior schools also. Upon festival days the masters made solemn meetings in the churches, where their scholars disputed logically and demonstratively ; some bringing enthymems, other perfect syllogisms ; some disputed for show, others to trace out the truth ; cunning sophisters were thought brave scholars when they flowed with words ; others used fallacies ; rhetoricians spake aptly to persuade, observing the precepts of art,

and omitting nothing that might serve their purpose; the boys of diverse schools did cap or pot verses, and contended of the principles of grammar; there were some which on the other side with epigrams and rymes, nipping and quipping their fellows, and the faults of others, though suppressing their names, moved thereby much laughter among their auditors." Hitherto Fitzstephen, for schools and scholars, and for their
10 exercises in the city in his days: sithence the which time, as to me it seemeth, by the increase of colleges and students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the frequenting of schools, and exercises of scholars in the city, as had been accustomed, hath much decreased.

The three principal churches which had these famous schools by privileges, must needs be the cathedral church of St. Paul for one; seeing, that by a general council, holden in the year of Christ
20 1176, at Rome, in the patriarchy of Lateran, it was decreed, that every cathedral church should have his schoolmaster to teach poor scholars, and others as had been accustomed, and that no man should take any reward for license to teach. The second, as most ancient, may seem to have been the monastery of St. Peter's at Westminster, whereof Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland, in the reign of William the Conqueror, writeth thus:—"I, Ingulphus, an humble servant of God, born of
30 English parents, in the most beautiful city of London, for to attain to learning, was first put to Westminster, and after to study of Oxford," &c.

And writing in praise of Queen Edgitha, wife to Edward the Confessor : " I have seen her," saith he, " often when being a boy, I came to see my father dwelling in the king's court, and often coming from school, when I met her, she would oppose me, touching my learning and lesson ; and falling from grammar to logic, wherein she had some knowledge, she would subtilly conclude an argument with me, and by her handmaiden give me three or four pieces of money, and send me ¹⁰ unto the palace where I should receive some victuals, and then be dismissed."

The third school seemeth to have been in the monastery of St. Saviour, at Bermondsey in Southwark ; for other priories, as of St. John by Smithfield, St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, St. Mary Overies in Southwark, and that of the Holy Trinity by Aldgate, were all of later foundation, and the friaries, colleges, and hospitals, in this city, were raised since them in the reigns of Henry III., ²⁰ Edward I., II., and III., &c. All which houses had their schools, though not so famous as these first named.

But touching schools more lately advanced in this city, I read, that King Henry V., having suppressed the priories aliens, whereof some were about London ; namely, one hospital, called Our Lady of Rouncivall, by Charing Cross ; one other hospital in Oldbourne ; one other without Cripple-gate ; and the fourth without Aldersgate ; besides ³⁰ other that are now worn out of memory, and whereof there is no monument remaining, more

than Rouncivall converted to a brotherhood, which continued till the reign of Henry VIII. or Edward VI. ; this, I say, and other their schools being broken up and ceased, King Henry VI., in the 24th of the reign, by patent, appointed that there should be in London grammar schools, besides St. Paul's, at St. Martin's le Grand, St. Mary le Bow in Cheap, St. Dunstan's in the west, and St. Anthony's. And in the next year, to wit,
10 1394, the said king ordained by parliament that four other grammar schools should be erected, to wit, in the parishes of St. Andrew in Oldbourne, Allhallows the Great in Thames Street, St. Peter's upon Cornhill, and in the hospital of St. Thomas of Acons in West Cheap ; since the which time as divers schools, by suppressing of religious houses, whereof they were members, in the reign of Henry VIII., have been decayed, so again have some others been newly erected, and founded for
20 them ; as namely Paul's School, in place of an old ruined house, was built in most ample manner, and largely endowed, in the year 1512, by John Colet, Doctor of Divinity, Dean of Paul's, for one hundred and fifty-three poor men's children, for which there was ordained a master, surmaster or usher, and a chaplain. Again, in the year 1553, after the erection of Christ's Hospital, in the late dissolved house of the Gray Friars, a great number of poor children being taken in, a school was also ordained
30 there at the citizens' charges. Also, in the year 1561, the Merchant Taylors of London founded one notable free grammar school, in the parish

of St. Laurence Poultney by Candlewick Street, Richard Hils, late master of that company having given five hundred pounds towards the purchase of a house, called the Manor of the Rose, sometime the Duke of Buckingham's, wherein the school is kept. As for the meeting of the schoolmasters on festival days, at festival churches, and the disputing of their scholars logically, &c., whereof I have before spoken, the same was long since discontinued ; but the arguing of the schoolboys about the principles of grammar hath been continued 10 even till our time ; for I myself, in my youth, have yearly seen, on the eve of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the scholars of divers grammar schools repair unto the churchyard of St. Bartholomew, the priory in Smithfield, where upon a bank boarded about under a tree, some one scholar hath stepped up, and there hath opposed and answered, till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down ; and then the overcomer taking the place, did 20 like as the first ; and in the end the best opposers and answerers had rewards, which I observed not but it made both good schoolmasters, and also good scholars, diligently against such times to prepare themselves for the obtaining of this garland. I remember there repaired to these exercises, amongst others, the masters and scholars of the free schools of St. Paul's in London, of St. Peter's at Westminster, of St. Thomas Acon's Hospital, and of St. Anthony's Hospital ; whereof 30 the last named commonly presented the best scholars, and had the prize in those days.

This priory of St. Bartholomew being surrendered to Henry VIII., those disputations of scholars in that place surceased ; and was again, only for a year or twain, in the reign of Edward VI., revived in the cloister of Christ's Hospital, where the best scholars, then still of St. Anthony's School, were rewarded with bows and arrows of silver, given to them by Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith. Nevertheless, however the en-
10 couragement failed, the scholars of Paul's, meeting with them of St. Anthony's, would call them Anthony pigs, and they again would call the other, pigeons of Paul's, because many pigeons were bred in St. Paul's Church, and St. Anthony was always figured with a pig following him ; and mindful of the former usage, did for a long season disorderly in the open street provoke one another with, "*Salve tu quoque, placet tibi mecum disputare ?*" "*Placet.*" And so proceeding from this
20 to questions in grammar, they usually fell from words to blows with their satchels full of books, many times in great heaps, that they troubled the streets and passengers ; so that finally they were restrained, with the decay of St. Anthony's School. Out of this school have sprung divers famous persons, whereof although time hath buried the names of many, yet in mine own remembrance may be numbered these following :—Sir Thomas More, knight, Lord Chancellor of England ; Dr.
30 Nicholas Heath, sometime Bishop of Rochester, after of Worcester, and lastly Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of England ; Dr. John

Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.

Of later time, in the year of Christ 1582, there was founded a public lecture on chirurgery, to be read in the College of Physicians in Knightriders Street, to begin in the year 1584, on the sixth of May, and so to be continued for ever, twice every week, on Wednesday and Friday, by the honourable Baron, John Lord Lombley, and the learned Richard Caldwell, doctor in physic, the reader whereof to be 10 Richard Forster, doctor of physic, during his life.

Last of all, Sir Thomas Gresham, knight, agent to the queen's highness, by his last will and testament made in the year 1579, gave the Royal Exchange, and all the buildings thereunto appertaining; that is to say, the one moiety to the mayor and commonalty of London and their successors, upon trust that they perform as shall be declared; and the other moiety to the mercers in like confidence. The mayor and commonalty are 20 to find four to read lectures of divinity, astronomy, music, and geometry, within his dwelling-house in Bishopsgate Street, and to bestow the sum of two hundred pounds; to wit, fifty pounds the piece, &c. The mercers likewise are to find three readers, that is, in civil law, physic, and rhetoric, within the same dwelling-house, the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds; to every reader, fifty pounds, &c. : which gift hath been since that time confirmed by parliament, to take effect and begin after the decease 30 of the Lady Anne Gresham, which happened in the year 1596, and so to continue for ever.

Houses of Students in the Common Law.

BUT besides all this, there is in and about this city a whole University, as it were, of students, practisers or pleaders, and judges of the laws of this realm, not living of common stipends, as in other universities it is for the most part done, but of their own private maintenance, as being altogether fed either by their places or practice, or otherwise by their proper revenue, or exhibition of
10 parents and friends; for that the younger sort are either gentlemen or the sons of gentlemen, or of other most wealthy persons. Of these houses there be at this day fourteen in all; whereof nine do stand within the liberties of this city, and five in the suburbs thereof; to wit:

WITHIN THE LIBERTIES.

Sergeants' Inn in Fleet Street, Sergeants' Inn in Chancery Lane; for judges and sergeants only.

20 The Inner Temple, the Middle Temple, in Fleet Street; houses of court.

Clifford's Inn in Fleet Street, Thavies Inn in Oldborne, Furnival's Inn in Oldborne, Barnard's Inn in Oldborne, Staple Inn in Oldborne; houses of Chancery.

WITHOUT THE LIBERTIES.

Gray's Inn in Oldborne, Lincoln's Inn in Chancery Lane by the old Temple; houses of court.

Clement's Inn, New Inn, Lyon's Inn ; houses of Chancery, without Temple Bar, in the liberty of Westminster.

There was sometime an inn of sergeants in Oldborne, as you may read of Scrop's Inn over against St. Andrew's Church.

There was also one other inn of Chancery, called Chester's Inn for the nearness to the Bishop of Chester's house, but more commonly termed Strand Inn, for that it stood in Strand Street, and near unto Strand Bridge without Temple Bar, in the liberty of the duchy of Lancaster. This inn of Chancery, with other houses near adjoining, were pulled down in the reign of Edward VI. by Edward Duke of Somerset, who in place thereof raised that large and beautiful house, but yet unfinished, called Somerset House.

The Houses of Court be replenished partly with young students, and partly with graduates and practisers of the law ; but the Inns of Chancery, being, as it were, provinces, severally subjected to the Inns of Court, being chiefly furnished with officers, attorneys, solicitors, and clerks, that follow the courts of the King's Bench or Common Pleas ; and yet there want not some other being young students, that come thither sometimes from one of the universities, and sometimes immediately from grammar schools ; and these having spent some time in studying upon the first elements and grounds of the law, and having performed the exercise of their own houses (called Boltas Mootes, and putting of cases), they proceed to be admitted,

and become students in some of these four houses or inns of court, where continuing by the space of seven years or thereabouts, they frequent readings, meetings, boltings, and other learned exercises, whereby growing ripe in the knowledge of the laws, and approved withal to be of honest conversation, they are either, by the general consent of the benchers or readers, being of the most ancient, grave, and judicial men of every inn of the court,
10 or by the special privilege of the present reader, there selected and called to the degree of utter barristers, and so enabled to be common counsellors, and to practise the law, both in their chambers and at the bars.

Of Orders and Customs.

OF orders and customs in this city of old time, Fitzstephen saith as followeth : " Men of all trades, sellers of all sorts of wares, labourers in every work, every morning are in their distinct and
20 several places : furthermore, in London, upon the river side, between the wine in ships and the wine to be sold in taverns, is a common cookery, or Cooks' Row ; there daily, for the season of the year, men might have meat, roast, sod, or fried ; fish, flesh, fowls, fit for rich and poor. If any come suddenly to any citizen from afar, weary, and not willing to tarry till the meat be bought and dressed, while the servant bringeth water for his master's hands, and fetcheth bread, he shall have immediately from

the river's side all viands whatsoever he desireth : what multitude soever, either of soldiers or strangers, do come to the city, whatsoever hour, day or night, according to their pleasures may refresh themselves ; and they which delight in delicateness may be satisfied with as delicate dishes there as may be found elsewhere. And this Cooks' Row is very necessary to the city ; and, according to Plato in Gorgias, next to physic is the office of cooks, as part of a city.

10

“Without one of the gates is a plain field, both in name and deed, where every Friday, unless it be a solemn bidden holy day, is a notable show of horses to be sold ; earls, barons, knights, and citizens repair thither to see or to buy ; there may you of pleasure see amblers pacing it delicately ; there may you see trotters fit for men of arms, sitting more hardly ; there may you have notable young horses, not yet broken ; there may you have strong steeds, well limbed geldings, whom the 20 buyers do specially regard for pace and swiftness ; the boys which ride these horses, sometime two, sometime three, do run races for wagers, with a desire of praise, or hope of victory. In another part of that field are to be sold all implements of husbandry, as also fat swine, milch kine, sheep, and oxen ; there stand also mares and horses fit for ploughs and teams, with their young colts by them. At this city, merchant strangers of all nations had their quays and wharfs ; the Arabians sent gold ; 30 the Sabians spice and frankincense ; the Scythian armour, Babylon oil, Indian purple garments,

Egypt precious stones, Norway and Russia ambergris and sables, and the Frenchmen wine. According to the truth of Chronicles, this city is ancients than Rome, built of the ancient Trojans and of Brute, before that was built by Romulus and Remus; and therefore useth the ancient customs of Rome. This city, even as Rome, is divided into wards; it hath yearly sheriffs instead of consuls; it hath the dignity of senators in aldermen. It
10 hath under officers, common sewers, and conduits in streets; according to the quality of causes, it hath general courts and assemblies upon appointed days. I do not think that there is any city wherein are better customs, in frequenting the churches, in serving God, in keeping holy days, in giving alms, in entertaining strangers, in solemnizing marriages, in furnishing banquets, celebrating funerals, and burying dead bodies.

“The only plagues of London are immoderate
20 quaffing among the foolish sort, and often casualties by fire. Most part of the bishops, abbots, and great lords of the land have houses there, whereunto they resort, and bestow much, when they are called to parliament by the king, or to council by their metropolitan, or otherwise by their private business.”

Thus far Fitzstephen, of the estate of things in his time, whereunto may be added the present, by conference whereof the alteration will easily appear.
30 Men of trades and sellers of wares in this city have oftentimes since changed their places, as they have found their best advantage. For whereas

mercens and haberdashers used to keep their shops in West Cheap, of later time they held them on London Bridge, where partly they yet remain. The goldsmiths of Gutheron's Lane and Old Exchange are now for the most part removed into the south side of West Cheap, the pepperers and grocers of Soper's Lane are now in Bucklesbury, and others places dispersed. The drapers of Lombard Street and of Cornhill are seated in Candlewick Street and Watling Street ; the skinners from St. 10 Mary Pellipers, or at the Axe, into Budge Row and Walbrook ; the stockfishmongers in Thames Street ; wet fishmongers in Knightriders Street and Bridge Street ; the ironmongers, of Ironmongers' Lane and Old Jury, into Thames Street ; the vintners from the Vintry into divers places. But the brewers for the more part remain near to the friendly water of Thames ; the butchers in East Cheap, St. Nicholas Shambles, and the Stocks Market ; the hosiers, of old time in Hosier Lane, 20 near unto Smithfield, are since removed into Cordwainer Street, the upper part thereof by Bow Church, and last of all into Birchoveries Lane by Cornhill ; the shoemakers and curriers of Cordwainer Street removed, the one to St. Martin's le Grand, the other to London Wall near unto Moorgate ; the founders remain by themselves in Lothbury ; cooks, or pastelers, for the more part in Thames Street, the other dispersed into divers parts ; poulterers of late removed out of the 30 Poultry, betwixt the Stocks and the great conduit in Cheap, into Grass Street and St. Nicholas

shambles ; bowyers, from Bowyers' Row by Ludgate into divers places, and almost worn out, with the fletchers ; paternoster makers of old time, or bede-makers, and text-writers, are gone out of Paternoster Row, and are called stationers of Paul's Churchyard ; patten-makers, of St. Margaret, Pattens' Lane, clean worn out ; labourers every work-day are to be found in Cheap, about Soper's Land End ; horse-coursers and sellers of oxen,
10 sheep, swine, and such like, remain in their old market of Smithfield, &c.

That merchants of all nations had their quays and wharfs at this city, whereunto they brought their merchandises before and in the reign of Henry II., mine author wrote of his own knowledge to be true, though for the antiquity of the city he took the common opinion. Also that this city was in his time and afore divided into wards, had yearly sheriffs, aldermen, general courts, and assem-
20 blies, and such like notes by him set down, in commendation of the citizens, whereof there is no question, he wrote likewise of his own experience, as being born and brought up amongst them.

It followeth in Fitzstephen, that the plagues of London in that time were immoderate quaffing among fools, and often casualties by fire. For the first—to wit, of quaffing—~~it~~ continueth as afore, or rather is mightily increased, though greatly qualified among the poorer sort, not of any holy
30 abstinence, but of mere necessity, ale and beer being small, and wines in price above their reach. As for prevention of casualties by fire, the houses

in this city being then built all of timber, and covered with thatch of straw or reed, it was long since thought good policy in our forefathers wisely to provide, namely, in the year of Christ 1189, the first of Richard I., Henry Fitzalwine being then mayor, that all men in this city should build their houses of stone up to a certain height, and to cover them with slate or baked tile ; since which time, thanks be given to God, there hath not happened the like often consuming fires in this 10 city as afore.

But now in our time, instead of these enormities, others are come in place no less meet to be reformed ; namely, purprestures, or encroachments on the highways, lanes, and common grounds, in and about this city ; whereof a learned gentleman and grave citizen hath not many years since written and exhibited a book to the mayor and commonalty ; which book, whether the same have been by them read and diligently considered upon, 20 I know not, but sure I am nothing is reformed since concerning this matter.

Then the number of cars, drays, carts, and coaches, more than hath been accustomed, the streets and lanes being straitened, must needs be dangerous, as daily experience proveth.

The coachman rides behind the horse tails, lasheth them, and looketh not behind him ; the drayman sitteth and sleepeth on his dray, and letteth his horse lead him home. I know that, by 30 the good laws and customs of this city, shod carts are forbidden to enter the same, except upon

reasonable cause, as service of the prince, or such like, they be tolerated. Also that the fore horse of every carriage should be led by hand ; but these good orders are not observed. Of old time coaches were not known in this island, but chariots or whirlicotes, then so called, and they only used of princes or great estates, such as had their footmen about them ; and for example to note, I read that Richard II., being threatened by the rebels of
10 Kent, rode from the Tower of London to the Mile's End, and with him his mother, because she was sick and weak, in a whirlicote, the Earls of Buckingham, Kent, Warwick, and Oxford, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Robert Knowles, the Mayor of London, Sir Aubrey de Vere, that bare the king's sword, with other knights and esquires attending on horseback. But in the next year, the said King Richard took to wife Anne, daughter to the King of Bohemia, that first brought hither the
20 riding upon side-saddles , and so was the riding in whirlicotes and chariots forsaken, except at coronations and such like spectacles ; but now of late years the use of coaches, brought out of Germany, is taken up, and made so common, as there is neither distinction of time nor difference of persons observed ; for the world runs on wheels with many whose parents were glad to go on foot.

Last of all, mine author in this chapter hath
30 these words : " Most part of the bishops, abbots, and great lords of the land, as if they were citizens and freemen of London, had many fair

houses to resort unto, and many rich and wealthy gentlemen spent their money there." Again he saith: "This city, in the troublesome time of King Stephen, showed at a muster twenty thousand armed horsemen and forty thousand footmen, serviceable for the wars, &c." All which sayings of the said author, well considered, do plainly prove that in those days the inhabitants and repairers to this city, of what estate soever, spiritual or temporal, having houses here, lived together in good amity with the citizens, every man observing the customs and orders of the city; and those to be contributory to charges here, rather than in any part of the land where-soever, this city, being the heart of the realm, the king's chamber and prince's seat, where-unto they made repair, and showed their forces, both of horses and of men; which caused in troublesome time, as of King Stephen, the musters of this city to be so great in number. 20

And here, to touch somewhat of greater families and households kept in former times by noblemen, and great estates of this realm, according to their honours or dignities, I have seen an account made by H. Leicester, cofferer to Thomas Earl of Lancaster, for one whole year's expenses in the earl's house, from the day next after Michaelmas, in the seventh year of Edward II., until Michaelmas in the eighth year of the same king, amounting to the sum of £7957 13s. 4½d. as followeth: 30

To wit, in the pantry, buttery, and kitchen, £3405, &c.; for one hundred and eighty-four

tuns, one pipe of red or claret wine, and one tun of white wine bought for the house, £104 17s. 6d.

For grocery ware, £180 17s.

For six barrels of sturgeon, £19.

For six thousand eight hundred stock-fishes, so called for dried fishes of all sorts, as lings, haberdines, and other, £41 6s. 7d.

For one thousand seven hundred and fourteen pounds of wax, with vermilion and turpentine to
10 make red wax, £314 7s. 4½d.

For two thousand three hundred and nineteen pounds of tallow candles for the household, and one thousand eight hundred and seventy of lights for Paris candles, called perchers, £31 14s. 3d.

Expenses on the earl's great horses, and the keeper's wages, £486 4s. 3½d.

Linen cloth for the earl and his chaplains, and for the pantry, £43 17s.

For one hundred and twenty-nine dozen of
20 parchment, with ink, £4 8s. 3½d.

Sports and Pastimes of old Time used in this City.

"LET us now," saith Fitzstephen, "come to the sports and pastimes, seeing it is fit that a city should not only be commodious and serious, but also merry and sportful; whereupon in the seals of the popes, until the time of Pope Leo, on the one side was St. Peter fishing, with a key over

him, reached as it were by the hand of God out of heaven, and about it this verse :

‘Tu pro me navem liquisti, suscipe clavem.’

And on the other side was a city, and this inscription on it : ‘*Aurea Roma.*’ Likewise to the praise of Augustus Cæsar and the city, in respect of the shows and sports was written :

‘Nocte pluit tota, redeunt spectacula mane,’ &c.

‘All night it raines, and shows at morrow tide retuine again,
And Cæsar with almighty Jove hath matcht an equal raighn.’ 10

“But London, for the shows upon theatres, and comical pastimes, hath holy plays, representations of miracles, which holy confessors have wrought, or representations of torments wherein the constancy of martyrs appeared. Every year also at Shrove Tuesday, that we may begin with children’s sports, seeing we all have been children, the schoolboys do bring cocks of the game to their master, and all the forenoon they delight themselves in cock-fighting : after dinner, all the youths 20 go into the fields to play at the ball.

“The scholars of every school have their ball, or baton, in their hands ; the ancient and wealthy men of the city come forth on horseback to see the sport of the young men, and to take part of the pleasure in beholding their agility. Every Friday in Lent a fresh company of young men comes into the field on horseback, and the best horseman conducteth the rest. Then march forth the citizens’ sons, and other young men, with 30

disarmed lances and shields, and there they practise feats of war. Many courtiers likewise, when the king lieth near, and attendants of noblemen, do repair to these exercises ; and while the hope of victory doth inflame their minds, do show good proof how serviceable they would be in martial affairs.

“ In Easter holidays they fight battles on the water ; a shield is hung upon a pole, fixed in the
10 midst of the stream, a boat is prepared without oars, to be carried by violence of the water, and in the fore part thereof standeth a young man, ready to give charge upon the shield with his lance ; if so be he breaketh his lance against the shield, and doth not fall, he is thought to have performed a worthy deed , if so be, without breaking his lance, he runneth strongly against the shield, down he falleth into the water, for the boat is violently forced with the tide , but on each
20 side of the shield ride two boats, furnished with young men, which recover him that falleth as soon as they may. Upon the bridge, wharfs, and houses, by the river’s side, stand great numbers to see and laugh thereat.

“ In the holidays all the summer the youths are exercised in leaping, dancing, shooting, wrestling, casting the stone, and practising their shields ; the maidens trip in their timbrels, and dance as long as they can well see. In winter, every holiday
30 before dinner, the boars prepared for brawn are set to fight, or else bulls and bears are baited.

“ When the great fen, or moor, which watereth

the walls of the city on the north side, is frozen, many young men play upon the ice ; some, striding as wide as they may, do slide swiftly ; others make themselves seats of ice, as great as mill-stones ; one sits down, many hand in hand to draw him, and one slipping on a sudden, all fall together, some tie bones to their feet and under their heels ; and shoving themselves by a little picked staff, do slide as swiftly as a bird flieth in the air, or an arrow out of a cross-bow. Sometime ¹⁰ two run together with poles, and hitting one the other, either one or both do fall, not without hurt ; some break their arms, some their legs, but youth desirous of glory in this sort exerciseth itself against the time of war. Many of the citizens do delight themselves in hawks and hounds ; for they have liberty of hunting in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, all Chiltern, and in Kent to the water of Cray." Thus far Fitzstephen of sports.

These, or the like exercises, have been continued ²⁰ till our time, namely, in stage plays, whereof ye may read in anno 1391, a play by the parish clerks of London at the Skinner's Well besides Smithfield, which continued three days together, the king, queen, and nobles of the realm being present. And of another, in the year 1409, which lasted eight days, and was of matter from the creation of the world, whereat was present most part of the nobility and gentry of England. Of late time, in place of those stage plays, hath been ³⁰ used comedies, tragedies, interludes, and histories, both true and feigned ; for the acting whereof

certain public places, as the Theatre, the Curtain, &c., have been erected. Also cocks of the game are yet cherished by divers men for their pleasures, much money being laid on their heads, when they fight in pits, whereof some be costly made for that purpose. The ball is used by noblemen and gentlemen in tennis courts, and by people of meaner sort in the open fields and streets.

The marching forth of citizens' sons, and other
10 young men on horseback, with disarmed lances
and shields, there to practise feats of war, man
against man, hath long since been left off, but in
their stead they have used on horseback to run at
a dead mark, called a quintain; for note whereof
I read, that in the year of Christ 1253, the 38th
of Henry III., the youthful citizens, for an exercise
of their activity, set forth a game to run at the
quintain; and whoever did best should have a
peacock, which they had prepared as a prize.
20 Certain of the king's servants, because the court
lay then at Westminster, came, as it were, in spite
of the citizens, to that game, and giving reproachful
names to the Londoners, which for the dignity of
the city, and ancient privilege which they ought
to have enjoyed, were called barons, the said
Londoners, not able to bear so to be misused, fell
upon the king's servants, and beat them shrewdly,
so that upon complaint to the king he fined the
citizens to pay a thousand marks. This exercise
30 of running at the quintain was practised by the
youthful citizens as well in summer as in winter,
namely, in the feast of Christmas, I have seen a

quintain set upon Cornhill, by the Leadenhall, where the attendants on the lords of merry disports have run, and made great pastime ; for he that hit not the broad end of the quintain was of all men laughed to scorn, and he that hit it full, if he rid not the faster, had a sound blow in his neck with a bag full of sand hung on the other end. I have also in the summer season seen some upon the river of Thames rowed in wherries, with staves in their hands, flat at the fore end, running one 10 against another, and for the most part, one or both overthrown, and well ducked.

On the holy days in summer the youths of this city have in the field exercised themselves in leaping, dancing, shooting, wrestling, casting of the stone or ball, &c.

And for defence and use of the weapon, there is a special profession of men that teach it. Ye may read in mine Annals how that in the year 1222 the citizens kept games of defence, and 20 wrestlings, near unto the hospital of St Giles-in-the-Field, where they challenged, and had the mastery of the men in the suburbs, and other commoners, &c. Also, in the year 1453, of a tumult made against the mayor at the wrestling besides Clerke's Well, &c. Which is sufficient to prove that of old time the exercising of wrestling, and such like, hath been much more used than of later years. The youths of this city also have used on holy days after evening prayer, at their 30 masters' doors, to exercise their wasters and bucklers ; and the maidens, one of them playing

on a timbrel, in sight of their masters and dames, to dance for garlands hung athwart the streets; which open pastimes in my youth being now suppressed, worse practices within doors are to be feared. As for the baiting of bulls and bears, they are to this day much frequented, namely, in Bear gardens, on the Bank's side, wherein be prepared scaffolds for beholders to stand upon. Sliding upon the ice is now but children's play; 10 but in hawking and hunting many grave citizens at this present have great delight, and do rather want leisure than goodwill to follow it.

Now for sports and pastimes yearly used.

First, in the feast of Christmas, there was in the king's house, wheresoever he was lodged, a lord of misrule, or master of merry disports, and the like had ye in the house of every nobleman of honour or good worship, were he spiritual or temporal. Amongst the which the mayor of 20 London, and either of the sheriffs, had their several lords of misrule, ever contending, without quarrel or offence, who should make the rarest pastimes to delight the beholders. These lords beginning their rule on Alhollon eve, continued the same till the morrow after the Feast of the Purification, commonly called Candlemas Day. In all which space there were fine and subtle disguisings, masks, and mummeries, with playing at cards for counters, nails, and points, in every 30 house, more for pastime than for gain.

Against the feast of Christmas every man's house, as also the parish churches, were decked

with holm, ivy, bays, and whatsoever the season of the year afforded to be green. The conduits and standards in the streets were likewise garnished; amongst the which I read, in the year 1444, that by tempest of thunder and lightning, on the 1st of February, at night, Paule's Steeple was fired, but with great labour quenched; and towards the morning of Candlemas Day, at the Leadenhall in Cornhill, a standard of tree being set up in midst of the pavement, fast in the 10 ground, nailed full of holm and ivy, for disport of Christmas to the people, was torn up, and cast down by the malignant spirit (as was thought), and the stones of the pavement all about were cast in the streets, and into divers houses, so that the people were sore aghast of the great tempests.

In the week before Easter had ye great shows made for the fetching in of a twisted tree, or with, as they termed it, out of the woods into the king's house; and the like into every man's house of 20 honour or worship.

In the month of May, namely on May-day in the morning, every man, except impediment, would walk into the sweet meadows and green woods, there to rejoyce their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweet flowers, and with the harmony of birds, praising God in their kind; and for example hereof, Edward Hall hath noted, that King Henry VIII., as in the 3rd of his reign, and divers other years, so namely, in the 7th of his 30 reign, on May-day in the morning, with Queen Katherine his wife, accompanied with many lords

and ladies, rode a-maying from Greenwich to the high ground of Shooter's Hill, where, as they passed by the way, they espied a company of tall yeomen, clothed all in green, with green hoods, and bows and arrows, to the number of two hundred ; one being their chieftain, was called Robin Hood, who required the king and his company to stay and see his men shoot ; whereunto the king granting, Robin Hood whistled, and
10 all the two hundred archers shot off, loosing all at once ; and when he whistled again they likewise shot again ; their arrows whistled by craft of the head, so that the noise was strange and loud, which greatly delighted the king, queen, and their company. Moreover, this Robin Hood desired the king and queen, with their retinue, to enter the greenwood, where, in harbours made of boughs, and decked with flowers, they were set and served plentifully with venison and wine by
20 Robin Hood and his men, to their great contentment, and had other pageants and pastimes, as ye may read in my said author.

I find also, that in the month of May, the citizens of London of all estates, lightly in every parish, or sometimes two or three parishes joining together, had their several mayings, and did fetch in maypoles, with divers warlike shows, with good archers, morris dancers, and other devices, for pastime all the day long ; and toward the evening
30 they had stage plays, and bonfires in the streets. Of these mayings we read, in the reign of Henry VI., that the aldermen and sheriffs of London,

being on May-day at the Bishop of London's wood, in the parish of Stebunheath, and having there a worshipful dinner for themselves and other commoners, Lydgate the poet, that was a monk of Bury, sent to them, by a pursuivant, a joyful commendation of that season, containing sixteen staves of metre royal, beginning thus :—

“ Mightié Flora ! goddess of fresh flowers,—
 Which clothéd hath the soyle in lustie greene,
 Made buddés springen, with her sweeté showers, 10
 By the influence of the sunne shine.
 To doen pleasance of intent full cleane,
 Unto the Statés which now sitten here,
 Hath Ver down sent her owné daughter deare.
 Making the vertue, that dare in the roote,
 Calléd of clarkes the vertue végétáble,
 For to transcend, most holesome and most soote,
 Into the crop, this season so agreáble,
 The bawmy liquor is so commendáble,
 That it rejoiceth with his fresh moystúre, 20
 Man, beast, and fowle, and every créature,” &c.

These great mayings, and May-games, made by the governors and masters of this city, with the triumphant setting up of the great shaft (a principal maypole in Cornhill, before the parish church of St. Andrew therefore called Undershaft,) by means of an insurrection of youths against aliens on May-day, 1517, the 9th of Henry VIII., have not been so freely used as afore, and therefore I leave them, and will somewhat touch 30 of watches, as also of shows in the night.

*Of Watches in this City, and other Matters
commanded, and the Cause why.*

WILLIAM CONQUEROR commanded that in every town and village, a bell should be nightly rung at eight o'clock, and that all people should then put out their fire and candle, and take their rest; which order was observed through this realm during his reign, and the reign of William Rufus. But Henry I., restoring to his subjects the use of
10 fire and lights, as afore; it followeth, by reason of wars within the realm, that many men also gave themselves to robbery and murders in the night; for example whereof in this city Roger Hoveden writeth thus:—"In the year 1175, a council was kept at Nottingham; in time of which council a brother of the Earl Ferrers being in the night privily slain at London, and thrown out of his inn into the dirty street, when the king understood thereof, he swore that he would be avenged on the
20 citizens. For it was then (saith mine author) a common practice in the city, that a hundred or more in a company, young and old, would make nightly invasions upon houses of the wealthy, to the intent to rob them; and if they found any man stirring in the city within the night that were not of their crew, they would presently murder him, insomuch that when night was come no man durst adventure to walk in the streets. When this had continued long, it fortun'd that as a crew of
30 young and wealthy citizens, assembling together

in the night, assaulted a stone house of a certain rich man, and breaking through the wall, the good man of that house, having prepared himself with others in a corner, when he perceived one of the thieves named Andrew Bucquint to lead the way, with a burning brand in one hand and a pot of coals in the other, which he essayed to kindle with the brand, he flew upon him, and smote off his right hand, and then with a loud voice cried 'Thieves!' at the hearing whereof the thieves 10 took their flight, all saving he that had lost his hand, whom the good man in the next morning delivered to Richard de Lucie, the king's justice. This thief, upon warrant of his life, appeached his confederates, of whom many were taken, and many were fled. Among the rest that were apprehended, a certain citizen of great countenance, credit, and wealth, named John Senex, who for as much as he could not acquit himself by the water doem, as that law was then, he offered to the king 20 five hundred pounds of silver for his life; but forasmuch as he was condemned by judgment of the water, the king would not take the offer, but commanded him to be hanged on the gallows, which was done, and then the city became more quiet for a long time after." But for a full remedy of enormities in the night, I read, that in the year 1253, Henry III. commanded watches in the cities and borough towns to be kept, for the better observing of peace and quietness amongst his 30 people.

And further, by the advice of them of Savoy,

he ordained, that if any man chanced to be robbed, or by any means damnified by any thief or robber, he to whom the charge of keeping that country, city, or borough, chiefly appertained, where the robbery was done, should competently restore the loss. And this was after the use of Savoy, but yet thought more hard to be observed here than in those parts; and, therefore, leaving those laborious watches, I will speak of our
10 pleasures and pastimes in watching by night.

In the months of June and July, on the vigils of festival days, and on the same festival days in the evenings after the sun setting, there were usually made bonfires in the streets, every man bestowing wood or labour towards them; the wealthier sort also, before their doors near to the said bonfires, would set out tables on the vigils, furnished with sweet bread and good drink, and on the festival days with meats and drinks
20 plentifully, whereunto they would invite their neighbours and passengers also to sit and be merry with them in great familiarity, praising God for His benefits bestowed on them. These were called bonfires as well of good amity amongst neighbours that being before at controversy, were there, by the labour of others, reconciled, and made of bitter enemies loving friends; and also for the virtue that a great fire hath to purge the infection of the air. On the vigil of St. John the
30 Baptist, and on St. Peter and Paul the Apostles, every man's door being shadowed with green birch, long fennel, St. John's wort, orpin, white

lilies, and such like, garnished upon with garlands of beautiful flowers, had also lamps of glass, with oil burning in them all the night ; some hung out branches of iron curiously wrought, containing hundreds of lamps alight at once, which made a goodly show, namely, in New Fish Street, Thames Street, &c. Then had ye besides the standing watches all in bright harness, in every ward and street of this city and suburbs, a marching watch, that passed through the principal streets thereof, 10 to wit, from the little conduit by Paul's Gate to West Cheap, by the stocks through Cornhill, by Leadenhall to Aldgate, then back down Fenchurch Street, by Grass Church, about Grass Church conduit, and up Grass Church Street into Cornhill, and through it into West Cheap again. The whole way for this marching watch extendeth to three thousand two hundred tailor's yards of assize ; for the furniture whereof with lights, there were appointed seven hundred cressets, five 20 hundred of them being found by the companies, the other two hundred by the Chamber of London. Besides the which lights every constable in London, in number more than two hundred and forty, had his cresset : the charge of every cresset was in light two shillings and fourpence, and every cresset had two men, one to bear or hold it, another to bear a bag with light, and to serve it, so that the poor men pertaining to the cressets, taking wages, besides that every one had a straw 30 hat, with a badge painted, and his breakfast in the morning, amounted in number to almost two

thousand. The marching watch contained in number about two thousand men, part of them being old soldiers of skill, to be captains, lieutenants, sergeants, corporals, &c., whiffers, drummers, and fifes, standard and ensign bearers, sword players, trumpeters on horseback, demilances on great horses, gunners with hand guns, or half hakes, archers in coats of white fustian, signed on the breast and back with the arms of the city, 10 their bows bent in their hands, with sheaves of arrows by their sides, pikemen in bright corslets, burganets, &c., halberds, the like billmen in almaine rivets, and aprons of mail in great number; there were also divers pageants, morris dancers, constables, the one-half, which was one hundred and twenty, on St. John's Eve, the other half on St. Peter's Eve, in bright harness, some overgilt, and every one a joriet of scarlet thereupon, and a chain of gold, his henchman following 20 him, his minstrels before him, and his cresset light passing by him, the waits of the city, the mayor's officers for his guard before him, all in a livery of worsted or say jackets party-coloured, the mayor himself well mounted on horseback, the sword-bearer before him in fair armour well mounted also, the mayor's footmen, and the like torch-bearers about him, henchmen twain upon great stirring horses, following him. The sheriff's watches came one after the other in like order, 30 but not so large in number as the mayor's; for where the mayor had besides his giant three pageants, each of the sheriffs had besides their

giants but two pageants, each their morris dance, and one henchman, their officers in jackets of worsted or say party-coloured, differing from the mayor's, and each from other, but having harnessed men a great many, &c.

This midsummer watch was thus accustomed yearly, time out of mind, until the year 1539, the 31st of Henry VIII., in which year, on the 8th of May, a great muster was made by the citizens at the Mile's End, all in bright harness, with coats of 10 white silk, or cloth and chains of gold, in three great battles, to the number of fifteen thousand, which passed through London to Westminster, and so through the Sanctuary, and round about the park of St James, and returned home through Oldbourne. King Henry, then considering the great charges of the citizens for the furniture of this unusual muster, forbade the marching watch provided for at Midsummer for that year, which being once laid down was not raised again till the 20 year 1548, the second of Edward VI., Sir John Gresham then being mayor, who caused the marching watch, both on the eve of St. John the Baptist and of St. Peter the Apostle, to be revived and set forth in as comely order as it hath been accustomed, which watch was also beautified by the number of more than three hundred demi-lances and light horsemen, prepared by the citizens to be sent into Scotland for the rescue of the town of Haddington, and others kept by the 30 Englishmen. Since this mayor's time, the like marching watch in this city hath not been used,

though some attempts have been made thereunto ;
as in the year 1585, a book was drawn by a grave
citizen, and by him dedicated to Sir Thomas
Pullison, then lord mayor, and his brethren the
aldermen, containing the manner and order of a
marching watch in the city upon the evens
accustomed ; in commendation whereof, namely,
in times of peace to be used, he hath words to
this effect : "The artificers of sundry sorts were
10 thereby well set a-work, none but rich men
charged, poor men helped, old soldiers, trumpeters,
drummers, fifes, and ensign-bearers, with such like
men, meet for princes' service, kept in ure, wherein
the safety and defence of every common weal
consisteth. Armour and weapon being yearly
occupied in this wise, the citizens had of their own
readily prepared for any need ; whereas by inter-
mission hereof, armourers are out of work, soldiers
out of pay, weapons overgrown with foulness, few
20 or none good being provided," &c.

In the month of August, about the feast of St.
Bartholomew the Apostle, before the Lord Mayor,
aldermen, and sheriffs of London, placed in a large
tent near unto Clerkenwell, of old time, were
divers days spent in the pastime of wrestling,
where the officers of the city, namely, the sheriffs,
sergeants, and yeomen, the porters of the king's
beam or weigh-house, now no such men, and other
of the city, were challengers of all men in the
30 suburbs, to wrestle for games appointed, and on
other days, before the said mayor, aldermen, and
sheriffs, in Finsbury field, to shoot the standard,

broad arrow, and flight, for games ; but now of late years the wrestling is only practised on Bartholomew's Day in the afternoon, and the shooting some three or four days after, in one afternoon, and no more. What should I speak of the ancient daily exercises in the long bow by citizens of this city, now almost clean left off and forsaken?—I overpass it ; for by the mean of closing in the common grounds, our archers, for want of room to shoot abroad, creep into bowling-¹⁰ alleys and ordinary dicing houses nearer home, where they have room enough to hazard their money at unlawful games ; and there I leave them to take their pleasures.

Honour of Citizens and Worthiness of Men in the Same.

"THIS city," saith Fitzstephen, "is glorious in manhood : furnished with munitions, populous with inhabitants ; insomuch, that in the troublesome time of King Stephen, it hath showed at a ²⁰ muster twenty thousand armed horsemen, and three score thousand footmen, serviceable for the wars. Moreover, saith he, the citizens of London, wheresoever they become, are notable before all other citizens in civility of manners, attire, table, and talk. The matrons of this city are the very modest Sabine ladies of Italy. The Londoners, sometime called Trinobantes, repelled Cæsar, which

always made his passage by shedding blood ; whereupon Lucan sung :

‘Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.’

“The city of London hath bred some which have subdued many kingdoms, and also the Roman Empire It hath also brought forth many others, whom virtue and valour hath highly advanced ; according to Apollo, in his Oracle to Brute, ‘*Sub occasu solis*,’ &c. In the time of
10 Christianity, it brought forth that noble emperor, Constantine, which gave the city of Rome and all the imperial ensigns to God, St. Peter, and Pope Silvester ; choosing rather to be called a defender of the Church than an emperor ; and, lest peace might be violated, and their eyes troubled by his presence, he retired from Rome, and built the city of Constantinople. London also in late time hath brought forth famous kings : Maude the Empress, King Henry, son to Henry II., and Thomas the
20 Archbishop, &c.”

This Thomas, surnamed Becket, born in London, brought up in the priory of Marton, student at Paris, became the sheriff’s clerk of London for a time, then parson of St. Mary Hill, had a prebend at London, another at Lincoln, studied the law at Bologna, &c., was made Chancellor of England, and Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. Unto this might be added innumerable persons of honour, wisdom, and virtue, born in London.

Westminster.

AND now to pass to the famous monastery of Westminster. At the very entrance of the close thereof is a lane that leadeth towards the west, called Thieving Lane, for that thieves were led that way to the gate-house, while the sanctuary continued in force.

This monastery was founded and built by Sebert, king of the East Saxons, upon the persuasion of Ethelbert, king of Kent, who having embraced Christianity, and being baptized by Melitus, Bishop of London, immediately (to show himself a Christian indeed) built a church to the honour of God and St. Peter, on the west side of the city of London, in a place which, because it was overgrown with thorns and environed with water, the Saxons called Thorney, and now of the monastery and west situation thereof is called Westminster.

In this place, saith Sulcardus, long before was a temple of Apollo, which being overthrown, King Lucius built therein a church of Christianity.

Sebert was buried in this church, with his wife Athelgede; whose bodies many years after, to wit, in the reign of Richard II., saith Walsingham, were translated from the old church to the new, and there interred.

Edgar, king of the West Saxons, repaired this monastery about the year of Christ 958. Edward 30

the Confessor built it of new, whereupon T. Clifford writeth thus :—

“Without the walls of London,” saith he, “upon the river of Thames, there was in times passed a little monastery, built to the honour of God and St. Peter, with a few Benedict monks in it, under an abbot, serving Christ: very poor they were, and little was given them for their relief. Here the king intended (for that it was near to the famous city of London and the river of
10 Thames, that brought in all kind of merchandises from all parts of the world,) to make his sepulchre: he commanded, therefore, that of the tenths of all his rents the work should be begun in such sort as should become the prince of the Apostles.

“At this his commandment the work is nobly begun, even from the foundation, and happily proceedeth till the same was finished: the charges bestowed, or to be bestowed, are not regarded. He granted to this church great privileges, above all the churches in this land, as
20 partly appeareth by this his charter :—

“‘Edwarde, king, greets William, bishop, and Leofstane, and Aelsie Portreves, and all my burgesses of London friendly, and I tell you, that I have this gift given and granted to Christ and St. Peter the holy Apostle, at Westminster, full freedome over all the land that belongeth to that holy place, &c.’”

He also caused the parish church of St. Margaret to be newly built without the abbey church of Westminster, for the ease and commodity of the
30 monks, because before that time the parish church stood within the old abbey church in the south aisle, somewhat to their annoyance.

King Henry III., in the year of Christ 1220,

and in the 5th of his reign, began the new work of Our Lady's Chapel, whereof he laid the first stone in the foundation ; and in the year 1245 the walls and steeple of the old church (built by King Edward) were taken down, and enlarging the same church, caused them to be made more comely ; for the furtherance whereof, in the year 1246, the same king (devising how to extort money from the citizens of London towards the charges) appointed a mart to be kept at Westminster, the same to last 10 fifteen days, and in the mean space all trade of merchandise to cease in the city ; which thing the citizens were fain to redeem with two thousand pounds of silver.

The work of this church, with the houses of office, was finished to the end of the choir, in the year 1285, the 14th of Edward I. ; all which labour of sixty-six years was in the year 1299 defaced by a fire kindled in the lesser hall of the king's palace at Westminster ; the same, with many 20 other houses adjoining, and with the queen's chamber, were all consumed ; the flame thereof also, being driven with the wind, fired the monastery, which was also with the palace consumed.

Then was this monastery again repaired by the abbots of that church ; King Edward I. and his successors putting to their helping hands.

Edward II. appropriated unto this church the patronages of the churches of Kelveden and Sawbridgeworth in Essex, in the diocese of London. 30

Simon Langham, abbot (having been a great builder there in the year 1362), gave forty pounds

to the building of the body of the church ; but (amongst others) Abbot Islip was in his time a great builder there, as may appear in the stonework and glass windows of the church ; since whose decease that work hath stayed as he left it, unperfected, the church and steeple being all of one height.

Kings and queens buried in this church are these :—Sebert, king of the East Saxons, with his
10 wife Athelgede ; Harold, surnamed Harefoot, king of the West Saxons ; Edward the Simple, surnamed Confessor, sometime richly shrined in a tomb of silver and gold, curiously wrought by commandment of William the Conqueror ; Egitha his wife was there buried also ; Hugolyn, chamberlain to Edward the Confessor ; King Henry III., whose sepulture was richly garnished with precious stones of jasper, which his son Edward I. brought out of France for that purpose ; Eleanor, wife to
20 Henry III. ; Edward I., who offered to the shrine of Edward the Confessor the chair of marble wherein the kings of Scotland were crowned, with the sceptre and crown also to the same king belonging.

He gave also to that church lands to the value of one hundred pounds by the year ; twenty pounds thereof yearly to be distributed to the poor for ever. Then there lieth Eleanor, his wife, daughter to Ferdinando, king of Castile, 1293 ;
30 Edward III. by Queen Philippa of Henault his wife ; Richard II. and Anne his wife, with their images upon them, which cost more than four

hundred marks for the gilding ; Henry V., with a royal image of silver and gilt, which Katherine his wife caused to be laid upon him, but the head of this image, being of massy silver, is broken off, and conveyed away with the plates of silver and gilt that covered his body ; Katherine his wife was buried in the old Lady chapel 1438, but her corpse being taken up in the reign of Henry VII., when a new foundation was to be laid, she was never since buried, but remaineth above ground in 10 a coffin of boards behind the east end of the presbytery ; Henry VII. in a sumptuous sepulture and chapel before specified, and Elizabeth his wife ; Edward VI. in the same chapel, without any monument ; Queen Mary, without any monument, in the same chapel , Matilde, daughter to Malcolm, king of Scots, wife to Henry I., died 1118, lieth in the revestry ; Anne, wife to Richard III. ; Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother to Henry VII. ; Anne of 20 Cleves, wife to Henry VIII. ; Edmond, second son to Henry III., first Earl of Lancaster, Derby, and Leicester, and Aveline his wife, daughter and heir to William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle. In St. Thomas' chapel lie the bones of the children of Henry III. and of Edward I., in number nine.

This church hath had great privilege of sanctuary within the precinct thereof, to wit the church, churchyard, and close, &c. ; from whence it hath not been lawful for any prince or other to 30 take any person that fled thither for any cause ; which privilege was first granted by Sebert, king

of the East Saxons, since increased by Edgar, king of the West Saxons, renewed and confirmed by King Edward the Confessor, as appeareth by this his charter following :—

“Edward, by the grace of God, king of Englishmen : I make it to be known to all generations of the world after me, that by speciall commandement of our holy father, Pope Leo, I have renewed and honored the holy church of the blessed apostle St. Peter, of Westminster ; and I
10 order and establish for ever, that what person, of what condition or estate soever he be, from whence soever he come, or for what offence or cause it be, either for his refuge into the said holy place, he be assured of his life, liberty, and limbs. And over this I forbid, under the paine of everlasting damnation, that no minister of mine, or of my successors, intermeddle them with any the goods, lands, or possessions of the said persons taking the said sanctuary ; for I have taken their goodes and livelode into my speciall protection, and therefore I grant to every
20 each of them, in as much as my terrestriall power may suffice, all maner freedom of joyous libertie ; and who-soever presumes or doth contrary to this my graunt, I will hee lose his name, worship, dignity, and power, and that with the great traytor Judas that betraied our Saviour, he be in the everlasting fire of hell ; and I will and ordayne that this my graunt endure as long as there remayneth in England eyther love or dread of Christian name.”

More of this sanctuary ye may read in our
30 histories, and also in the statute of Henry VIII., the 32nd year.

The parish church of St. Margaret, sometime within the abbey, was by Edward the Confessor

removed, and built without, for ease of the monks. This church continued till the days of Edward I., at which time the merchants of the staple and parishioners of Westminster built it all of new, the great chancel excepted, which was built by the abbots of Westminster ; and this remaineth now a fair parish church, though sometime in danger of down-pulling.

Next to this famous monastery is the king's principal palace, of what antiquity it is uncertain ;¹⁰ but Edward the Confessor held his court there, as may appear by the testimony of sundry, and, namely, of Ingulphus, as I have before told you. The said king had his palace, and for the most part remained there ; where he also ended his life, and was buried in the monastery which he had built. It is not to be doubted but that King William I., as he was crowned there, so he built much at his palace, for he found it far inferior to the building of princely palaces in France ; and it²⁰ is manifest, by the testimony of many authors, that William Rufus built the great hall there about the year of Christ 1097. Amongst others, Roger of Wendover and Mathew Paris do write, that King William (being returned out of Normandy into England) kept his feast of Whitsuntide very royally at Westminster, in the new hall which he had lately built ; the length whereof, say some, was two hundred and seventy feet, and seventy-four feet in breadth and when he heard men say³⁰ that this hall was too great, he answered and said, " This hall is not big enough by the one half, and

is but a bed-chamber in comparison of that I mean to make." A diligent searcher, saith Paris, might find out the foundation of the hall which he was supposed to have built, stretching from the river of Thames even to the common highway.

This palace was repaired about the year 1163 by Thomas Becket, chancellor of England, with exceeding great celerity and speed, which before was ready to have fallen down. This hath been
10 the principal seat and palace of all the kings of England since the Conquest, for here have they in the great hall kept their feasts of coronation especially, and other solemn feasts, as at Christmas and such like, most commonly; for proof whereof, I find recorded that in the year 1236, and the 20th of Henry III., on the 29th of December, William de Haverhull, the king's treasurer, is commanded, that upon the day of circumcision of
20 our Lord he caused six thousand poor people to be fed at Westminster, for the state of the king, the queen, and their children; the weak and aged to be placed in the great hall and in the lesser; those that were most strong, and in reasonable plight, in the king's chamber; the children in the queen's; and when the king knoweth the charge he would allow it in the accounts.

It moreover appeareth that many parliaments have been kept there; for I find noted that in the year 1397, the great hall at Westminster being
30 out of reparations, and therefore, as it were, new built by Richard II. (as is afore showed), the same Richard, in the meantime having occasion to hold

a parliament, caused for that purpose a large house to be built in the midst of the palace-court, betwixt the clock-tower and the gate of the old great hall. This house was very large and long, made of timber, covered with tile, open on both the sides and at both the ends, that all men might see and hear what was both said and done.

The king's archers, in number four thousand Cheshire men, compassed the house about with their bows bent and arrows knocked in their hands, always ready to shoot. They had bouche of court (to wit, meat and drink), and great wages of sixpence by the day.

The old great hall being new built, parliaments were again there kept as before; namely, one in the year 1399, for the deposing of Richard II. A great part of this palace at Westminster was once again burnt in the year 1512, the 4th of Henry VIII.; since the which time it hath not been re-edified: only the great hall, with the offices near adjoining, are kept in good reparations, and serveth as afore for feasts at coronations, arraignments of great persons charged with treasons, keeping of the courts of justice, &c. But the princes have been lodged in other places about the city, as at Baynard's Castle, at Bridewell, at Whitehall, sometime called York Place, and sometime at St. James'.

This great hall hath been the usual place of pleadings and ministration of justice, whereof somewhat shortly I will note. In times past the courts and benches followed the king wheresoever

he went, as well since the Conquest as before ; which thing at length being thought cumbersome, painful, and chargeable to the people, it was in the year 1224, the 9th of Henry III., agreed that there should be a standing-place appointed, where matters should be heard and judged, which was in the great hall at Westminster.

In this hall he ordained three judgment-seats ; to wit, at the entry on the right hand, the Common
10 Pleas, where civil matters are to be pleaded, specially such as touch lands or contracts ; at the upper end of the hall, on the right hand, or south-east corner, the King's Bench, where pleas of the crown have their hearing ; and on the left hand, or south-west corner, sitteth the lord chancellor, accompanied with the master of the Rolls and other men, learned for the most part in the civil law, and called masters of the chancery, which have the king's fee.

20 *The Temporal Government of this City, somewhat in brief manner.*

THIS city of London, being under the government of the Britons, Romans, and Saxons, the most ancient and famous city of the whole realm, was at length destroyed by the Danes, and left desolate, as may appear by our histories. But Alfred, king of the West Saxons, having brought this whole realm, from many parts, into one

monarchy, honourably repaired this city, and made it again habitable, and then committed the custody thereof to his son-in-law Adhered, Earl of Mercia ; after whose decease the city, with all other possessions pertaining to the said earl, returned to King Edward, surnamed the Elder, &c. : and so remained in the king's hands, being governed under him by portgraves, or portreves, which name is compounded of the two Saxon words, *porte* and *gerefe*, or *reve*. *Porte* betokeneth a town, and *gerefe* signifieth a guardian, ruler, or keeper of the town.

These governors of old time, saith Robert Fabian, with the laws and customs then used within this city, were registered in a book called the Doomsday, written in the Saxon tongue ; but of later days, when the said laws and customs were changed, and for that also the said book was of a small hand, sore defaced, and hard to be read or understood, it was less set by, so that it was 20 embezzled and lost. Thus far Fabian.

William Fitzstephen, noting the estate of this city, and government thereof in his time, under the reign of King Stephen and of Henry II., hath these words :—

“ This city,” saith he, “ even as Rome, is divided into wards. It hath yearly sheriffs instead of consuls ; it hath the dignity of senators and aldermen ; it hath under-officers, and, according to the quality of laws, it hath several courts and 30 general assemblies upon appointed days.” Thus much for the antiquity of sheriffs, and also of

aldermen, in several wards of this city, may suffice.

In the first year of King Richard I., the citizens of London obtained to be governed by two bailiffs, which bailiffs are in divers ancient deeds called sheriffs, according to the speech of the law, which called the shire Balliva, for that they, like as the portgraves, used the same office of shrivewick, for the which the city paid to fee farm three hundred
10 pounds yearly as before, since the reign of Henry I., which also is yet paid by the city into the Exchequer until this day.

They also obtained to have a mayor, to be their principal governor and lieutenant of the city, as of the king's chamber.

Thus much for the chief and principal governors of this famous city ; of whose public government, with the assistance of inferior officers, their charges for keeping of the peace, service of the prince, and
20 honour of this city, much might have been said, and I had thought to have touched more at large ; but being informed that a learned gentleman, James Dalton, a citizen born, minded such a labour, and promised to perform it, I have forborne and left the same to his good leisure, but he being now lately deceased without finishing any such work, a common fault to promise more than to perform, and I hear not of any other that taketh it in hand, I have been divers times minded
30 to add certain chapters to this book, but being, by the good pleasure of God, visited with sickness,—such as my feet, which have borne me many a

mile, have of late years refused, once in four or five months, to convey me from my bed to my study,—and therefore could not do as I would.

At length, remembering I had long since gathered notes to have chaptered, am now forced to deliver them unperfected, and desire the readers to pardon me, that want not will to pleasure them.

NOTES.

1. 3. **Geoffrey of Monmouth**, Bishop of St. Asaph in the twelfth century. He wrote a "Chronicle History of Britain," which is made up of historical tradition and pure fiction.

1. 8. **Aeneas** was related to Priam, King of Troy. When Troy was taken by the Greeks he escaped from the city, and after many wanderings settled in Italy, where, according to tradition, he became the ancestor of Romulus, founder of Rome.

1. 13 **Livy**, the great Roman historian, born about 60 B.C.

1. 19. **Lud**, a descendant of Brut.

2. 8. **Cassibelan**, Cassivelaunus, king of the district which is now Hertford and Middlesex.

2. 29 **Mandubrace**, or Mandubert, is said by some to be the son of King Lud and father of King Cunobelin (Shakespeare's Cymbeline) whose son was the famous British hero, Caractacus.

3. 12. **Trinobants**, a British tribe dwelling on the banks of the Thames.

4. 6. **particular kings**, separate kings.

4. 18. **Comius of Arras**, an ambassador sent by Caesar, before his first invasion of Britain, to demand the submission of the Britons, by whom he was seized and kept as a captive in chains. After the defeat of Cassibelan, Comius was released and sent to Caesar with entreaties to plead for the Britons.

5. 14. **Roman and Greek authors**. Strabo and Pomponius were writers on geography, who lived in the first century A.D. Dion lived in the second century A.D., and wrote a history of Rome, from the landing of Aeneas to 229 A.D.

5. 28. **Tacitus**, a great Roman historian, who lived in the first century A.D.

6. 1 **Nero**. Roman emperor 54-68 A.D. The attack on the Druids in Mona or Anglesea and the revolt of Boadicea took place during his reign.

6. 9. **Domitian**. Roman emperor 81-96 A.D.

7. 2. **Alectus**. One of the claimants who, during the third century, aspired to the position of Roman emperor. He endeavoured to hold Britain against the Romans, but was defeated by Constantius.

7. 18. **Theodosius Magnus**. Emperor of Rome 379-395.

9. 23. **Theodosius the younger**. Son of Arcadius, and Emperor of Rome 409-457.

9. 30. **Malmesbury**, an English historian of the twelfth century.

10. 27. **Bede**, the Venerable Bede, the celebrated monk of Jarrow (674-735). He wrote "The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation."

10. 31. **Polycronicon**, a history of the world, from the creation to 1342, written by Ranulf Higden, a Benedictine monk

11. 11. **William Fitzstephen**, one of the clerks in the service of Thomas à Becket, whose murder he witnessed, and whose "Life" he afterwards wrote. The "Description of the Most Noble City of London," from which Stow quotes so freely, was prefixed to this work. Fitzstephen died about 1190.

14. 28. **Baynards Castle**, a castle near Blackfriars Bridge, built by Ralph Baynard, a Norman knight, in the reign of William the Conqueror. In King John's reign it passed to the family of Robert Fitzwalter, and in the fifteenth century lapsed to the Crown. It was burnt down in the Great Fire, 1666.

16. 1. **fifteenth**. "A fifteenth is a tribute or imposition of money laid upon any city, borough, or other town through the realm, not . . . upon this or that man, but in general upon the whole city or town, and is so called because it amounts to a fifteenth of that which the city hath been valued at of old, or to a fifteenth part of every man's personal estate, according to a reasonable valuation." —Blount, "Law Dictionary"

16. 21. **Gualo**. In another place Stow says, "This water was called, as I have said, Walbrook, not Galus brook, of a Roman captain slain by Asclepiodatus and thrown therein, as some have fabled."

18. 2. **Bars**, the posts and chain placed across the road, at the west end of Fleet Street, dividing the city of London from the liberty of Westminster. In the reign of James I. this bar gave place to a "house of timber."

20. 26. **aforsaid Peter of Cole Church**. Stow has previously, in giving the history of the old wooden bridge, said, "Now in the year 1163 the same bridge was not only repaired, but newly made of timber as before, by Peter of Cole Church, priest and chaplain."

21. 5. **Radcliffe**. Ratcliffe.

21. 6. **Patricksey**. Sir Walter Besant derives Battersea from Batter, a corruption of Peter, and *ea*=island—the isle of Peter.

21. 23. **Chuntries.** An endowment for the maintenance of one or more priests, whose duty it is to sing daily masses for the souls of certain persons for whom the endowment is made.

22. 17. **standard of Cheap.** Of this standard Stow says, "Of what antiquity the first foundation I have not read." In 1442 it was decreed that the old standard should be taken down "and another competent standard of stone, together with a conduit in the same of new, strongly to be built." The standard was the scene of many executions and notable events.

24. 19. **derived,** here used in its original Latin meaning—to draw off or divert a stream.

25. 7. **Portsoken,** from L. *porta*, a gate, *soke*, franchise or liberty. "This Portsoken which soundeth the franchise at the gate, was sometime a guild, and had beginning in the days of King Edgar, more than six hundred years since. There were thirteen knights or soldiers well-beloved of the king and realm, for service by them done, which requested to have a certain portion of land on the east part of the city, left desolate and forsaken by the inhabitants. . . . The king granted to their request . . . and the king named it Knighten Guild."—Stow.

26. 1. **Iseldon,** Islington. The derivation of this word is uncertain. Some derive it from *isen*=iron, from certain mineral springs in the neighbourhood, others from *ishel*, an old British word signifying "lower," and *dun*, a town or fortress.

26. 6 **Sewer's ditch.** Stow here follows the general belief that Shoreditch was so named from the great common sewer once to be found there. Later authorities, however, derive it from the old family of the Soerdiches, lords of the manor in the reign of Edward III. The legend which connects the name with Jane Shore is entirely untrustworthy.

27. 1. **John Lydgate,** a poet of the early fifteenth century. He wrote "London Lickpenny," a ballad giving a humorous description of the London of his day

27. 15. **Bedrisworth.** Carlyle in "Past and Present" (Bk. I. Ch. III.) calls the town Beodricsworth, and adds a note, with characteristic irony, on the conjectural origin of the name.

27. 26. **Aldrich,** a Saxon, said to have built the gate.

29. 8. **arches or vaults,** the heavy rounded arches characteristic of Norman architecture.

30. 5. **St. Nicholas Shambles,** the "flesh-market containing divers slaughter-houses for the butchers," named from the church of St. Nicholas which formerly stood near.

30. 25. **some question.** Later antiquaries derive the name from "flood" or "fleet."

35 13. **Matthew Paris**, a monk of the thirteenth century, annalist of the monastery of St. Albans. His chronicle or "Historia Major" extends from the Norman Conquest to 1235, and is a valuable and patriotic record of the course of affairs in England.

35 23. **the said noble buildings . . . fell down**, probably through the action of the high spring tides.

36 24. **perie plants**, young pear trees

37 12. **Frederick the Emperor**. Frederick II., who led the Fifth Crusade, 1228

37 14. **three leopards** The lion was adopted by the kings of England for their emblem in the twelfth century, but as the representations of lions and leopards in heraldry were so very much alike, a confusion arose, and the term "lion" was not definitely applied to the English arms until the fifteenth century

38 17. **florences**. Stow derives this word from Florence, where the coin was first made (p 41). It is more probably derived from *flos, floris*, a flower, because it was stamped with a lily

39 16. **easterling** "In the time of King Richard I., money coined in the east parts of Germany began to be of special request in England for the purity thereof, and was called Easterling money, as all the inhabitants of those parts were called Easterlings: and shortly after, some of that country, skilful in mint matters and alloys, were sent for into this realm to bring the coin to perfection, which since that time was called of them Sterling or Easterling."—Camden.

40 23. **silver of Guthuron's Lane**. "So called of Guthuron, sometime owner thereof The inhabitants of this lane of old time were goldbeaters."—Stow.

41 9 **nummi** A Latin word for "coins." The derivation from Numa Pompilius is fanciful only.

41 14. **denarii**, Roman silver coins, originally worth ten times the copper coin called an *as*.

42 18. **pix**, the box in which sample coins are kept. One coin is taken from each bag of newly-coined money.

42 18. **assay**, the process by which the percentage of a metal present in an ore or alloy is determined; used to test the gold and silver coinage.

42 31. **Stebenheth**, Stepney.

43 16. **florin**, another name for the florence.

43 28. **Candlemas**, the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin, Feb. 2nd.

43 28. **Martinmas**, the Feast of St Martin, Nov. 11th.

44 17. **royal** This coin was usually called an "angel," because it bore on one side a representation of the archangel Michael in conflict with the dragon.

46. 14. Barbican. The word is found in old French, Spanish, and Italian, and probably came from the Arabic, so that Stow's derivation from "borough (burgh)-kenning" must be rejected.

47. 3. Hound's Ditch. "In old time, when the same lay open, much filth conveyed forth of the city, especially dead dogs, were there laid or cast."—Stow

47. 24. enthymems, a syllogism in which the major proposition is suppressed, *e.g.* "The swallows have returned; summer is near." The full syllogism would include the major proposition, "Swallows leave this country during the cold season."

48. 20. Lateran, the principal church of Rome, dedicated to St. John Lateranus. Five great general councils of the Church have been held there. The one here referred to is the third

49. 26. priories aliens, small religious houses dependent on a large monastery in another country.

52. 12. Anthony pigs. "The proctors of this house (St. Anthony's Hospital) were to collect the benevolence of charitable persons towards the building and supporting thereof. And amongst other things observed in my youth, I remember that the officers charged with oversight of the markets in this city, did divers times take from the market people, pigs starved, or otherwise unwholesome for man's sustenance; these they slit in the ear. One of the proctors for St. Anthony's tied a bell about the neck, and let it feed on the dunghills; no man would hurt or take them up, but if any gave to them bread, or other feeding, such would they know, watch for, and daily follow, whining till they had somewhat given them; whereupon was raised a proverb, 'Such an one will follow such an one, and whine as it were an Anthony pig'; but if such a pig grew to be fat, and came to good liking, as oftentimes they did, then the proctor would take him up to the use of the hospital."—Stow.

Salve, etc. "How are you? Have you a mind to hold a disputation with me?" "Yes"

54. 5. common stipends, a general fund.

54. 14. liberties, the area wherein which all the rights and privileges of the city are enjoyed.

55. 31. Boltas Mootes. "Bolt" signified a meal sieve, and is used figuratively to denote the sifting or searching out of truth. The Boltas Mootes were private meetings for the arguing of cases.

56. 11. utter barristers. Formerly a distinction was drawn between utter (=outer) barristers, who on public occasions were called from among the students to the first place outside the bar, and inner barristers, *i.e.* benchers and readers. The distinction has long been abolished, the term "barristers" being applied to those formerly called inner barristers, while the outer barristers have sunk again into the rank of students from which they were taken. In Queen Elizabeth's reign the outer barristers were allowed to practise in law-courts.

57. 8 **Plato**, the celebrated Greek philosopher, B.C. 429-348. The "*Gorgias*" is one of his philosophical dialogues.

57. 11. **plain field**, smooth field or Smithfield

58. 1. **ambergris**, a substance derived from the spermacetti whale, and used in the manufacture of perfumes.

60. 3. **paternoster makers or bede makers**, makers of beads for rosaries, of which every eleventh bead stands for a *paternoster* or Lord's Prayer.

60. 6 **St. Margaret Pattens' Lane**. It is more probable that this name was derived from "*patine*," a little plate, from the gilded decorations of its roof.

61. 31. **shod carts**, carts bound with iron.

62. 5. **coaches**, large closed four-wheeled vehicles. Italy, France, Spain, and Germany all claim to have invented coaches. The first used in England was probably that introduced by the Earl of Arundel in 1580.

64. 20. The remainder of the £7957 13s. 4½d. is made up by the price of clothes, horses, etc.

65. 3. **Tu pro me**, etc. "You left the ship for me, take you the key."

65. 5. **Aurea Roma**, Golden Rome.

66. 1. **disarmed lances**, lances with blunted points.

68. 1. **The Theatre, the Curtain**. These were the two first theatres erected in London, and were the only two in existence when Shakespeare came to the capital in 1586. They were both situated in Shoreditch, and it is probable that Shakespeare, during the early years of his life in London, acted at each of them. "The Theatre" was pulled down in 1599 and replaced by the "Globe." "The Curtain" (so called, probably, because it was the first to use the green stage curtain) remained open until the Civil War, and its name still survives in Curtain Road, Shoreditch.

68. 7. **tennis courts**. The game of tennis was introduced into England in the thirteenth century, and was played in walled courts or alleys. It was popular until the time of Charles II., but afterwards, owing to the intricate nature of the game and the expense of providing courts, it fell into disuse until a modified form of the game was introduced as "*lawn-tennis*" in 1873. A fine tennis court is still to be seen at Hampton Court Palace.

68. 14. **quintain**. "An upright post, on the top of which a cross post turned upon a pin; at one end of the cross post was a broad board, and at the other a heavy sand-bag; the play was to ride against the broad end with a lance, and pass by before the sand-bag, coming round, should strike the tilter." There is a quaint drawing of the quintain in the early editions of Stow's "*Survey*."

70. 7. **Bear gardens.** A kind of circus, called the Paris gardens, was opened in the sixteenth century on the Bankside, Southwark. Here bear-baiting was the principal attraction

70. 24. **Alhollon eve**, October 31st, the day before All-hallows, or All Saints' day. "Though connected with All Saints' Day, yet it seems to have been formerly a merry-making to celebrate the end of autumn and help to fortify the mind against the advent of winter."

72. 2. **Shooter's Hill**, at Blackheath.

73. 14. **Ver**, the goddess of Spring

73. 28. **May-day, 1517**, known as "Evil May-day," because of the riot of the apprentices and citizens against the aliens. Many of the rioters were taken prisoners and condemned to death. Eleven were executed, the rest pardoned by the king

75. 18. **water doem (doom)**. Trial by ordeal was common in Europe during the Middle Ages. The "water doom" was that by which persons of the middle and lower classes were tried. This consisted in the accused person taking a stone out of boiling water; if, after a certain time, his arm showed no sign of injury, he was pronounced innocent.

76. 23. **These were called bonfires**, etc. Skeat gives the origin of the word "bonfire" as "bone" and "fire," and considers the reference to be to the burning of saints' relics in the time of Henry VIII.

77. 18. **yards of assize**, the standard yard, as settled by law.

78. 13. **almaine rivets**, a kind of light armour introduced into England from Germany.

78. 21. **waits of the city**, a body of minstrels or musical watchmen, such as were commonly attached to the houses of kings and great persons, who paraded certain districts sounding the hours of the night. Until quite recently the waits of the city of Westminster were regularly sworn before the Court of Burgesses.

78. 31. **his giant** Giants commonly formed part of a pageant or a procession during the Middle Ages.

78. 32. **pageants**. A pageant originally meant the movable scaffold or platform on which a play or a show was set forth; afterwards it came to mean the show itself

80. 28. **king's beam or weigh-house**. A room or shed provided with special weighing apparatus where goods for the royal household were weighed.

81. 31. **Sabine ladies** A reference to the story told in connection with the early history of Rome, when the Romans, wanting wives, made a raid on the Sabines and took by force many Sabine ladies whom they could obtain in no other way.

82. 2. **Lucan**, a Roman poet of the first century A.D.

82. 3. *Territa quæsitis*, etc. "He sought the Britons and turned his back on them in fear."

82. 9. *Sub occasu*, etc. "Under the setting sun."

82. 11. *Constantine*. Constantine the Great was not born in London, as Stow would seem to say, but he visited Britain with his father in 306.

83. 12. *Melitus*, first bishop of London, the companion of St. Augustine in his mission to the Saxons

83. 17. *Thorney*. "There was a cliff or rising bank along the Strand, which confined the stream (the River Thames) on its north bank as far as Charing. At this village the course of the river turned south, and after half a mile, south-west. Here it formerly broadened into a vast marsh or lagoon, quite shallow to east and west, in parts only covered with water at high tide, and in parts rising above even the highest tides . . . The places which here and there rose above the reach of flood were called islands Bermond's-*ea*, the isle of Bermond; Thorn-*ea*, the isle of Bramble, etc."—Besant's "Westminster."

83. 22. *King Lucius* Bede in his "Ecclesiastical History" tells the story of the first Christian king, Lucius, who, in 178, wrote to the Pope begging that missionaries might be sent to instruct his people in the Christian faith.

86. 2. *Abbot Islip*, Abbot of Westminster during the reign of Edward IV.; he "first practised and erected the first press of Book printing that ever was in England, about the year of Christ 1471; W. Caxton, Citizen of London, Mercer, brought it into England, and was the first that practised it in the said Abbey."

89. 3. *staple*, derived from the Low Ger. *stapel*, a heap The word was applied first to a great store of goods, then to the market or town where such goods were exposed for sale.

89. 13. *Ingulphus*. The chronicle ascribed to Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland in the reign of William the Conqueror, was forged in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

94. 7. *Balliva*, derived from the same root as bailiff, French *bailler*, to deliver, to put into the hands of.

94. 8. *shrivewick*, the district under the charge of a sheriff.

GLOSSARY.

5. 13. **plashed**, formed of interwoven branches.
 6. 10. **adhorting**, exhorting, inciting.
 17. 25. **sharing**, dividing.
 20. 19. **reparations**, repairs.
 26. 25. **causeys**, causeways or raised paths.
 31. 13. **couched**, imbedded.
 32. 14. **palatine**, belonging to a palace.
 32. 16. **temperey**, mixed.
 34. 3. **pilled**, plundered.
 37. 11. **porpentines**, porcupines.
 39. 11. **conference**, comparison.
 39. 21. **rowals**, little wheels.
 40. 25. **ferling**, an obsolete Norman French form of "farthing."
 42. 15. **trussels or punchons**, stamping tools
 43. 19. **engrossed**, bought up in large quantities
 52. 3. **surceased**, came to an end.
 53. 4. **chirurgery**, surgery.
 59. 28. **pastelers**, pastrycooks.
 60. 1. **bowyers**, makers of bows.
 60. 3. **fletchers**, makers of arrows.
 61. 14. **purprestures**, wrongful seizures or enclosures. O F.
pourprendre, to seize
 62. 6. **whirlicotes**, light open carts.
 64. 6. **haberdines**, salt cod.
 64. 15. **percher**, a large wax candle such as was placed on altars.
 66. 28. **timbrel**, a kind of tambourine.
 67. 9. **picked**, pointed.
 68. 27. **shrewdly**, severely.
 69. 31. **wasters**, blunt swords or cudgels.
 71. 1. **holm**, holly.
 71. 18. **with**, a tough, flexible branch.

72. 28. **morris**, a rustic dance, said to be so called because introduced into Europe by the Moors. Sp. *Morisco*, Moorish
73. 5. **pursuivant**, an attendant on a herald.
73. 15. **virtue**, essence, essential element.
73. 15. **dare**, to lie hid. Cf. "He might not dare or be privy," St. Mark, vii. 24, Wiclif's Bible.
73. 17. **transcend**, rise; an old use of the word.
73. 17. **soote**, sweet.
73. 18. **crop**, the top or highest part.
73. 19. **bawmy**, balmy, pleasant.
74. 26. **presently**, immediately, forthwith.
75. 14. **appeach**, to inform, to reveal. Cf. the slang word "peach."
76. 32. **orpin**, stonecrop.
77. 8. **harness**, the equipment of a soldier.
77. 20. **cressets**, a basket of open ironwork in which wood or coal is burnt as a beacon
78. 4. **whiffers**, officers who led the way in processions.
78. 6. **demilances**, light horsemen, armed with lances.
78. 12. **burganet**, a helmet or steel cap.
78. 12. **halberd**, a weapon consisting of a pole about five feet long, surmounted by a head of steel
78. 18. **jornets**, jackets.
78. 23. **say**, a kind of serge or woollen cloth.
79. 12. **battles**, companies
80. 13. **ure**, use, practice
82. 24. **prebend**, a position as a minor dignitary of a cathedral.
84. 22. **portreve** (reeve = bailiff), the chief magistrate of a town.
87. 1. **marks**, the English mark was worth 13s 4d.
87. 18. **revestry**, the room or place in a church where the robes are deposited.
88. 18. **livelode**, livelihood
91. 11. **bouche**, an allowance of food and drink; from Fr. *bouche*, a mouth.

QUESTIONS.

1. Give Stow's account of Cæsar's connection with Britain (pp 2-4)

2. "And after this manner was this city then served with sweet and fresh waters, which being since decayed, other means have been sought to supply the want." To what "sweet and fresh waters" does Stow refer, and how have these "decayed"? (pp. 12-19).

3. How far does the following description, given by Sir Thomas More in his "Utopia," correspond with Stow's description of London. "The city of Amaurote standeth upon the side of a low hill in fashion almost four square. For the breadth of it beginneth a little beneath the top of the hill, and still continueth by the space of two miles, until it come to the river of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the river's side, is somewhat more. The river of Anyder riseth four and twenty miles above Amaurote out of a little spring . . . There goeth a bridge over the river made not of piles or of timber, but of stonework with gorgeous and substantial arches at that part of the city that is farthest from the sea. . . They have also another river which indeed is not very great. But it runneth gently and pleasantly . . . The city is compassed about with a high and thick stone wall, full of turrets and bulwarks." Illustrate by means of a sketch map (pp 11, 13, 20, 23)

4. Give an account of the building of "the stone bridge over the river of Thames, at London" (p. 20).

5. What does Stow say about the names of Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Ludgate, Cripplegate, Aldersgate? (pp. 23-32).

6. Explain, by reference to Stow's account of the coins made at the Tower in olden times, the following quotations:

(a) "Yet I should bear no cross if I did bear you; for I think you have no money in your purse." (*As you like it*, Act III Sc. 4) (p. 39).

(b) "When his fair angels would salute my palm." (*King John*, Act II. Sc 1) (p. 44).

7. "By reason whereof, victuals and merchandises became the dearer throughout the whole realm." Explain why this result followed from the new coinage (p. 43).

8 What do you gather from Stow's account to have been the chief subjects taught in the schools of his day? Describe one of the public "disputations" (pp. 47-51)

9. Give an account of the Gresham lectures since the days of Stow.

10. To what use is Somerset House put at the present day?

11. Describe Cooks' Row and Smithfield in the time of Fitzstephen (p. 56).

12 Compare the sports of England at the present day with those described by Fitzstephen (p. 64).

13. Why and by whom were "watches" in London instituted? (pp. 74, 75).

14. Describe the midsummer watch (p. 76).

15. Name and give a short account of any other celebrated Londoner besides those mentioned by Stow (p. 82).

16. Give instance from history of the right of sanctuary at Westminster having been claimed (p. 88)

17. Describe the great hall of Westminster as it exists at the present day.

18. Compare the municipal government of to-day with that of the time of Stow.

19. Mention any places in London connected with the life of Stow.

20. Give the history of the coronation chair in the Abbey (p. 86)

21. Name the three London schools mentioned by Fitzstephen, and give an account of each (p. 47).

22. Comment on the table of expenses of Thomas Earl of Leicester, as given on pp. 63-64.

23. What does Stow say about "casualties by fire" in his day? Discuss this with reference to later history (p. 60).

24. Which features of Elizabethan London, as described by Stow, seem to you the most striking?

SUBJECTS FOR COMPOSITION.

1. How do legends originate and grow? What is their value? (pp. 1-20)
2. The water supply of London in Stow's time and at the present day (pp. 12-19).
3. The old Miracle Plays (p. 19).
4. The history of the Tower of London (p. 33).
5. "A small postern with a drawbridge seldom let down but for some great persons, prisoners" Give a description, founded on what you have read in history or fiction, of the scene at the reception of some such "great person" (p. 38).
6. Illustrate the ways in which coins throw light upon history (pp. 38-46).
7. Emerson says, "The Middle Ages still lurk in the streets of London." Discuss this.
8. Tell the legend connected with Westminster Abbey. (See Besant's "Westminster," p. 6, or Matthew Arnold's poem of "Westminster Abbey.")
9. May-day.
10. Christmas customs in olden times.
11. Westminster Abbey.
12. Describe a great national ceremonial which has taken place in London in your own memory (p. 90).
13. Imagine that Stow came back to life and took a walk through the streets of London to-day. Write a description of his thoughts and feelings—as far as possible in his own manner.
14. Rewrite the following passages in more modern English:—
33. 15—34. 2; **61.** 12—62. 4; **94.** 16—95. 3.
 [N.B.—Avoid "fine writing" and do not change any words for the sake of change: observe carefully any difference in order of words and construction of sentences natural to modern English].

HELPS TO FURTHER STUDY.

1. Stow's *Survey of London*. The standard modern edition, edited by C. L. Kingsford. 2 vols. 30s net. (Clarendon Press.)
2. Ordish, T. F. . *Shakespeare's London*. 3s. 6d. net. (Dent.)
Stephenson, H. T. . *Shakespeare's London*, with maps, plans and illustrations 6s net. (Constable.)
3. Besant, Sir W . *London* (A. & C Black.) Besant, Sir W. : *Westminster. Maps of Old London*. (A & C. Black)
4. Timbs, J : *Romance of London*. Hutton, L. . *Literary Landmarks of London* Leigh Hunt . *The Town*. Lucas, E. V. . *A Wanderer in London*.
5. Traill, H. D : *Social England* (sections dealing with town life).
6. Essays in Addison and Steele's *Spectator* and Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* dealing with life in London.

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